FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 079 *23 April 1984*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Pact Foreign Ministers Meeting Concludes 20 Apr AA 1
Chnoupek Interviewed [Prague] AA 1
Foreign Ministers Depart [MTI] AA 2
Negotiations With NATO Urged [Budapest] AA 2
Communique Summarized [CTK] AA 2
MAGYAR HIRLAP Comments [MTI] AA 4
Policy Remains Unchanged [Radev, BTA] AA 5
Conciliatory Tone [Sundic, Zagreb] AA 5
Missile Stance More Realistic [TANJUG] AA 6
Full of Demagogic Clauses [ATA] AA 7
Civil Defense Meeting Scheduled End of April [BTA] AA 7

CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

U.S. CW Ban Proposal Excludes Private Companies [Budapest] BB 1
U.S. Geneva, Vienna Proposals Conceal Rearmament [Sofia] BB 1
Stormy Methods for Peace; U.S. CW Plan Trick [Kostka, Prague] BB 2
Superpowers Use Talks To Disguise Arms Race [Tirana] BB 4
No Break in MBFR Deadlock Before U.S. Elections [Budapest] BB 4
BTA Denies Soviet Missile Deployment in Bulgaria [Sofia] BB 5

ALBANIA

Reagan Antiterrorist Directive Serves Oppression B 1
Proper Handling of Citizens' Complaints Urged [Editorial in ZERI I POPULLIT 13 Apr] B 1
Conferences Stress Unity, Militancy of Youth [Editorial in ZERI I POPULLIT 17 Apr] B 2
Figures Show Economy Growing at High Rate [BASHKIMI 13 Apr] B 3

BULGARIA

USSR Komsomol Chief Signs Cooperation Plan C 1
BTA, Army Leaders Endorse Increased Cooperation [NARODNA ARMIYA 19 Apr] C 1
Army Party Conference Begins With Praise of Army C 2
Zhivkov, Dzhurov Speak C 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Activities Commemorating Lenin's 114th Birthday D 1
Leaders Visit Monument D 1
Officials Attend Celebration D 1
Pitra Memorializes Lenin D 1
Eurocommunism Leads to Internal Disintegration D 7
[Horak in TRIBUNA No 16, 18 Apr]
'Modernizers' Aid Anticommunist Ideology D 8
[Hlivka, Tomasek in TRIBUNA No 16, 18 Apr]
Husak Receives New UN Ambassador Cesar D 12
[RUDE PRAVO 19 Apr]
Progress Report on Nuclear Power Station D 12
British Actions Against Libya Criticized D 13
[Loerincz in Bratislava PRAVDA 19 Apr]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Schuerer, PRC's Zhu Rongji Discuss Economic Ties E 1
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Apr]
Reichelt Discusses Economic Cooperation in DPRK E 2
Delegation Arrives in Mongolia E 2

HUNGARY

MSZMP CC Issues Communique on 17 April Session F 1
[NEPSZABADSAG 19 Apr]
Briefs: Soviet Electronics Minister Visits; F 7
Cooperation Talks With Egypt

POLAND

Urban, Czubinski Press Conference on Law, Order G 1
[RZECZPOSPOLITA 16 Apr]
Barcikowski Interviewed on Social Divisions G 11
[Budapest]
Jaruzelski, Messner Address Enterprise Managers G 12
[TRYBUNA LUDU 17 Apr]
Self-Management Bodies' Difficulties Examined G 14
[Ruszkowski in POLITYKA 14 Apr]
First Quarter Economic Statistics Released G 16
Crackdown on Illegal Economic Activity Announced G 17
Printing Equipment, Antistate Leaflets Seized G 18
Cross Highlighted in Easter Celebrations [AFP] G 19
Walesa Urges Hunger Strikers To End Action [AFP] G 19

YUGOSLAVIA

Two Italian Boats Captured for Illegal Fishing I 1
Second Set of 500 Zastava Automobiles for PRC I 1
[POLITIKA 19 Apr]
Bulgarian Energy Minister Holds Economic Talks [BTA] I 1
Dissidents Detained, Hostile Activity Suspected I 2
Djilas Warned, Released I 2
Executive Council Discusses Lifting Price Freeze I 3
TV Shows Attendance at 11 Apr Presidency Meeting I 3

PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING CONCLUDES 20 APR

Chnoupek Interviewed

LD201408 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] The regular session of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Pact member-states ended in Budapest today. CSSR foreign minister, Bohuslav Chnoupek, gave an interview to the Budapest correspondent of CTK prior to his departure from the capital of Hungary.

He said that the meeting in Budapest fully showed that the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member-states is functioning as a well-tried tool of coordinated foreign policy of fraternal countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

On the agenda of the session was the assessment of the current international situation in Europe, and in a broader context, the overall development of the world. Further steps of our joint proceeding in the interest of averting nuclear war, reviving detente, and achieving concrete measures in the sphere of disarmanent were expressed here in concrete terms.

It has been said at the meeting that the current international situation continues to remain dangerous and that the U.S. Administration is to blame for this negative situation, as it is starting a new round of armament from conventional through nuclear and chemical to cosmic, with the aim of achieving military superiority. Described as most dangerous was the continuous deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

There is, however, a way out of this situation, said Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek: The socialist countries have stressed everywhere and always, including at this collective forum in Budapest, that this way is through dialogue -- an honest and concrete dialogue -- based on the principles of equality and equal security. Therefore, it is necessary that Washington also finally comprehend this only sensible alternative and that it remove the obstacles -- deployment of the Pershings and the cruise missiles -- that caused the breakdown in the deliberations on nuclear weapons in Europe and the deliberations on the limitation of strategic weapons.

In this connection, the Warsaw Pact countries demand the halting of deployment of the U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe and declare that should such measures be adopted that lead to removal of the missiles that have already been deployed, then at the same time, steps would be taken for lifting the retaliatory measures. Minister Chnoupek went on to say that included in the talks' agenda was the assessment of all other important issues connected with strengthening trust and security in Europe: in the first place at the Stockholm conference, where we shall continue to assert the complex of our proposals, especially the agreement on nonuse of nuclear weapons, and a treaty on nonuse of military force and the preservation of peace relations between all participating states.

These proposals are even now becoming more topical and attractive. We expressed our principled views on all disarmament forums in which we are taking part and we stressed again our peace initiative proposals from the latest period, to which we have still not received a constructive reply from the NATO member-states.

In conclusion, CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek expresses a conviction that the Budapest session with its results will make a contribution to even more dynamic fulfillment of the common tasks of the Warsaw Pact member-states and to the further increase of effectiveness of their cooperation at the international forums.

Foreign Ministers Depart

LD201903 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (MTI) -- The Committee of the Foreign Ministers of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization concluded their meeting in Budapest, Friday, April 20.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko left Budapest Friday morning after the end of the meeting. He was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Mihaly Korom, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

The other foreign ministers have also left Budapest: Petur Mladenov of Bulgaria, Bohuslav Chnoupek of Czechoslovakia, Oskar Fischer of the German Democratic Republic, Stefan Olszowski of Poland, and Stefan Andrei of Romania. Peter Varkonyi was at the airport to see them off.

Negotiations With NATO Urged

LD201827 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] The most important world political news today is from Budapest. The Warsaw Pact, after the consultation of foreign ministers, urges negotiations with NATO member-states for a curbing of the arms race. A lengthy communique has been issued on the 2-day session, which points out that all issues can be resolved via negotiations. By the way, the ministers of foreign affairs left our capital today; they were seen off by Peter Varkonyi.

Communique Summarized

LD211004 Prague CTK in English 1951 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] Budapest (CTK) -- The arms race has increased the threat of nuclear war and European security is seriously harmed just as confidence in relations between states, it was stressed in a communique on the April 19-20 session of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee here.

Attending were the foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union.

Relations between states are also complicated by the use of discriminatory measures in economic relations, and attempts at foreign interference into the affairs of states.

The participants in the session voiced the firm conviction that there are no problems which could not be settled by negotiations as long as they are based on a constructive approach and political will to attain positive results, and if they take into consideration the vital interests of nations and the interests of peace and security. The states represented at the session are ready to hold talks on all questions of common interest concerning the safeguarding of peace in Europe, the communique said.

The Warsaw Treaty states proceed from the fact that the most important place in the current political dialogue must be given to questions of elimination of the threat of nuclear war, and to the search for ways of halting the arms race and starting disarmament, nuclear disarmament in particular, the document continued.

It is urgent in the present conditions to stop the stockpiling of new nuclear weapons in Europe. The (?states represented in) the session insist on a halt to the siting of American medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, and declare that if measures are taken for the dismantling of the already sited missiles, steps will be taken simultaneously to abolish retaliatory measures. The Warsaw Treaty states call on the NATO states to cooperate in halting the deployment of new nuclear missiles and dismantling the already sited missiles, and to take efficient steps towards nuclear disarmament in Europe.

The Warsaw Treaty states again drew attention to the Prague Political Declaration of January 5, 1983, suggesting a treaty on non-use of military force and preservation of peace relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states, the communique said. The Warsaw Treaty states are ready to start at any time discussing with the NATO states questions concerning preparations for talks on all these proposals. They expect the NATO states to provide a positive and earliest possible reply to these appeals, the communique continued.

A positive reply would show their interest in securing constructive relations, mentioned in their brussels declaration of December 9, 1983.

The states represented at the session are ready to study thoroughly proposals of other states on the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, halt to the arms race, disarmament, and consolidation of international security.

Discussing the situation at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armament in central Europe, the participants in the session again drew attention to the new approach suggested by the socialist countries that disagreement in the question of the present troop numbers would not prevent agreement on their reduction. Such agreement would have good influence on the situation in Europe and facilitate progress in limiting the arms race a [word indistinct] disarmament.

The creation of nuclear-free zones would be an important step in the removal of nuclear weapons from Europe and strengthening of confidence.

Devoting great attention to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers stressed the importance of a debate on concrete issues to achieve effective results, the communique said.

When the work on confidence- and security-building measures ends, the conference [words indistinct] disarmament in Europe.

Unchanged remains the high-principled policy of the Warsaw Treaty states aimed at elimination of the existence (?and) prevention of new hotbeds of tension and armed conflicts in the and at settling of all international disputes by whole world, negotiations.

The Warsaw Treaty states reiterated their solidarity with nations fighting for freedom, independence and social progress, for economic development, and against the policy of imperialist aggression, colonialism and racism.

The next session of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers Committee will take place in Berlin in November 1984, the communique concluded.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Comments

LD211203 Budapest MTI in English 1025 GMT 21 Apr 84

[Text] Budapest, April 21 (MTI) -- The Saturday Edition of MAGYAR HIRLAP comments on recent session of the Foreign Ministerial Committee of the Warsaw Treaty. Reviewing the months since the last session in Sofia, the [words indistinct] that "unfavourable tendencies in international life have continued and even intensified." The United States is to blame for that "the talks were interrupted both on intermediate-range nuclear weapons and strategic armaments that ran simultaneously; and the interruption of these talks has led to a statement in the Soviet-American and East-West dialogue in general."

"However, the developments of the last six months have not changed the basic position of the Warsaw Treaty member states, and they will continue to pursue an active foreign policy in order to ease tension and promote the East-West dialogue and cooperation. Stressing the responsibility of the recipient countries of American intermediate-range missiles and that appropriate steps are expected from them for the termination of the deployment and the withdrawal of the missiles, the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states clearly stated their readiness to hold constructive talks on every question of mutual interest of ensuring peace in Europe," states the commentary, adding: It is particularly important to emphasize readiness for talks in the present situation when even responsible [word indistinct] in some Western countries are trying to make things look as though they were in favour of a dialogue and it was the Soviet Union and its allies that needed convincing of the use of the dialogue.

The fact of the matter, however, is -- and the situation of the reopening of the Vienna talks and the American manoeuvering around the issue of chemical weapons and to some extent also the progress of the Stockholm conference so far indicate -- that the United States and the NATO are still unprepared for concrete talks on curbing the armament race and equally unwilling to accept and employ in practice the principle of equality and equal security.

As stated by the communique of the sessionof the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministerial Committee, "the dialogue should focus on the pursuit of practical ways of halting nuclear armament. In other words, the Soviet Union and its allies are urging not a dialogue in general, but concrete and genuine dialogue in particular," states the commentary. It points out that Washington attempts to upset the historically established military balance, assisted by the principal West European allies of the United States, and the accumulating regional and global tension makes it an obvious necessity for the socialist countries to further strengthen their defence alliance, the Warsaw Treaty."

"The maintenance of the balance of military power is essential to avoid war. The Soviet Union and its allies would, however, like to see that balance established at the lowest possible level of armaments. None the less important is for the seven member states to coordinate efforts aimed for halting unfavourable tendencies," runs the commentary.

Finally the article states that the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states "obviously hold that the channels of top-level East-West communication have not become clogged in the past six months. Each country has different possibilities to build relations, but then this difference follows logically from their situation and concrete foreign political activities so far. The seven countries together, however, have many opportunities to represent their stand on principal world policy questions including European detente and cooperation at a string of East-West meetings."

Policy Remains Unchanged

AU201732 Sofia BTA in English 1656 GMT 20 Apr 84

["Sincere Aspirations for Stable Peace" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 20 (BTA news analyst H. Radev) -- The countries of the socialist community confirmed that their foreign policy course, aimed at preserving peace in Europe and the world, at guaranteeing security for all peoples, remains unchanged. They expressed their firm conviction that all disputable issues in international relations could and should be solved with political good will and constructive dialogue.

Of especially high value is their readiness -- expressed in the communique of the conference of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states -- to participate in talks to establish durable peace in Europe. As is well known, the socialist countries have never strived, nor they now intend to strive to enforce military superiority. It is their sincere desire to reach agreements based on the principles of equality and equal security. At the same time they do state categorcially once again, that they are not going to allow any military and strategic superiority to be established over them.

It is a task of paramount importance for our contemporaneity to do away with the threat of nuclear war. It is necessary to curb the arms race, and to take steps towards disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament. The decision to set up nuclear-weapon-free zones on the Balkan Peninsula, in northern Europe and in other regions of the continent could prove a substantial contribution in this respect.

The accumulation of new nuclear weaponry in Europe is creating an atmosphere of unpredictable consequences. This is an erroneous road leading only to impasse. If the old continent be freed from the American medium-range rockets, the response measures taken by the Warsaw Treaty member-countries will prove unnecessary. But all the European states should contribute towards the improvement of the situation.

The Warsaw Treaty member-states, whose all previous initiatives remain in full force, are always ready to begin a fruitful dialogue, to study the proposals of the other countries in a positive spirit. The sincere aspiration to remove the nuclear war threat, to curb the arms race, to bring about disarmament and detente, to consolidate international security it best expressed in this resolution of theirs to act without delay, in an energetic and purposeful manner. [sentence as received]

Conciliatory Tone

LD211507 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Apr 84

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee has called on European countries, and in the first instance the members of the Western military alliance, to join in the efforts to improve the atmoshpere on the continent. The call of the Warsaw seven is an indication of their readiness to discuss all controversial issues, primarily the removal of the barriers that have led to the present state of tension between the two military blocs. In the view of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers there is no problem that cannot be solved through negotiations, including the question of medium-range missiles.

Stating that the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles led to the breakdown of the Geneva talks, the foreign ministers have accused the American and European allies of also being responsible for the present situation in Europe. They have in mind in the first instance those countries on whose territory the deployment of U.S. missiles has begun, such as the FRG, Italy, and others.

The part of the communique from the Budapest meeting that relates to the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe differs to some extent from earlier formulations on the same question. It gives the impression of being milder than expected. The reason for this should be sought in the fact that it reflects the desire of the Eastern military alliance not to exacerbate relations with Western Europe, since it is believed that the United States alone is responsible for the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles. This is why the communique from the meeting in Budapest states that the question of halting the deployment of missiles and taking measures for their withdrawal should be taken up as soon as possible. The impression is given that the East would be willing to revive the talks on Euromissiles and the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons if the West, or rather the United States, called a halt to the deployment of missiles already underway in Western Europe.

The ministers of the Warsaw seven also made an effort to convince the NATO countries that the East does not aspire to domination, but rather advocates the equal and balanced security of both military blocs. But most important of all is the conciliatory tone of the Budapest communique, which gives a basis for hopes that the East is aware of the danger of the continuation of uncontrolled bloc confrontation and, therefore, also of the need to continue encouraging and promoting cooperation with the countries of Western Europe both on the bilateral and multilateral level. It could even be said that the Warsaw Pact countries will, without bringing into question the unity of the bloc, be more active in individual contacts with the West; that is, that some of the previous contacts have been given the approval of the meeting in Budapest. We should recall that there have been more such contacts recently, and all of them have produced useful results.

Missile Stance More Realistic

LD202148 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2058 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] Budapest, April 20 (TANJUG) -- The Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers today called on the European countries, primarily those belonging to the NATO pact, to invest serious efforts for improving the political climate. The ministers also urged the solving of accumulated problems and lessening of the danger of war by way of gradual nuclear disarmament.

In a statement issued by the ministerial committee and published here today, the Warsaw Treaty ministers stress that there is no problem that cannot be resolved by negotiation if talks are approached in a constructive manner and with political good will.

In the ministers' assessment, the negotiations should centre on questions related to eliminating the danger of nuclear war and halting the arms race. The Warsaw Treaty countries, the statement underlines, do not aspire to military supremacy.

The foreign ministers of the organization's seven member countries assessed the general situation in Europe as difficult and dangerous, citing as the chief reason the installation of nuclear missiles on the continent. They stressed that the responsibility is shared by those countries in which missile deployment has started or is planned.

The ministers demanded a halt to missile deployment and measures for the withdrawal of those already installed, which, they said, would enable the Warsaw Treaty to take similar measures.

This formulation seems more realistic than the organization's hitherto insistence on a return to the situation before the deployment of the missiles as a condition for the resumption of the Geneva negotiations.

Full of Demagogic Clauses

AU221321 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 22 Apr 84

["Under the Clamour for Peace the War Preparations Are Intensified" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, April 22 (ATA) -- The meeting of the Committee of the Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member countries held its proceedings in Budapest on April 19-20. It examined the general situation in Europe, problems of the armament of the NATO military bloc and of the strengthening of the Soviet nuclear potential in the East European countries. A comprehensive communique, full of demagogic clauses to deceive the European and world public opinion, was published at the end of the meeting. It echoed the threatening statements made by high officials of Kremlin and reiterated the aims of the Warsaw Treaty to intensify the armament race with the United States and the NATO military bloc.

Alongside with the communique, the above-mentioned meeting made an appeal on the United States and NATO, which stresses the need continuing of the Soviet-American bargains and expresses "the readiness to begin preliminary talks on Euromissiles at any time. [quotation marks as received]

As is seen along with the fierce rivalry for hegemony and control in the field of armament, the two imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, also want to keep open the channels of communication with each other, in order to carry on with their collaboration to the detriment of the peoples and countries of the world.

CIVIL DEFENSE MEETING SCHEDULED END OF APRIL

AU231446 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 23 Apr 84

[Text] Sofia, April 23 (BTA) -- A conference of the commanding staff of the civil defense of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries is to take place in the end of April in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in compliance with the plan for joint measures.

U.S. CW BAN PROPOSAL EXCLUDES PRIVATE COMPANIES

LD221148 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0605 GMT 22 Apr 84

[Excerpts] With the American voters and also international public opinion in mind, a new American proposal was presented at the UN disarmament committee in Geneva, on the topic of banning chemical weapons. Vice President George Bush personally presented it. We speak with Sandor Piriki about this. These [word indistinct] are very pretty proposals; nevertheless, the socialist countries received them with little sympathy. Why?

[Begin Piriki recording] First, perhaps it can be viewed as strange that the American vice president spoke about a bold American proposal without precedent, when since March of 1972, the proposal of the socialist countries has been on the table of the Geneva disarmament committee. It is noteworthy that the United States was willing to ratify the 1925 Geneva protocol banning the use of chemical weapons only a half century later. Perhaps it is also noteworthy that from 1976, bilateral Soviet-American talks took place for over 4 years, on the banning of chemical weapons. However, Washington unilaterally broke off these talks in 1980. By the way, it is characteristic of the discrepancy between words and actions, that the United States just now is starting a $10 billion chemical armaments program, in which it intends to increase the number of its chemical weapons from 3 million (?units) to 5 million. [end recording]

What are the concrete objections to the American proposal?

[Begin Piriki recording] First, it is objectionable that it withdraws the private companies manufacturing chemical weapons from under the ban; its provisions apply only to the companies of a military character, and under government supervision. It is known how great the role of private companies is in the production of the munitions industry in the capitalist world.

Also, the Americans would like to get a clear picture of the Soviet Union's chemical warfare capacity immediately, at the very start. There is no guarantee that, if they acquire the information necessary for them, they will not reject the entire chemical disarmament process. The verification can extend only to the destruction process and to the final result of this. [end recording]

U.S. GENEVA, VIENNA PROPOSALS CONCEAL REARMAMENT

AU191548 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1510 GMT 19 Apr 84

[Commentary read by Yordan Lozanov]

[Text] A plenary session of the Vienna talks on reducing the armed forces and armaments in central Europe was held today. Following a month-long period of silence, the Western countries have submitted certain proposals. I do not have a complete text of these proposals; however, the paragraphs quoted by the news agencies indicate that the NATO countries have not made a further step, which is needed for achieving a mutually acceptable (?agreement). The proposals provide for asymmetric reductions in the armed forces, which contradicts the principles of equality and (?common) security. The Western countries have proposed to exchange information, but only on the ground forces. What is more, the proposed reductions are in contradiction to the aims of the talks, because during the Vienna talks, which have already lasted for 11 years, not only the reduction of the armed forces, as the Western countries are now proposing, but also the issue of reducing armaments in central Europe have been under discussion.

The information received so far makes me draw a parallel with the proposals of Vice President George Bush submitted to the Geneva conference yesterday, which were connected with chemical weapons. These proposals, as well as the one submitted to the Vienna talks today, aim at concealing Washington's striving to continue its intensified rearmament.

STORMY METHODS FOR PEACE; U.S. CW PLAN TRICK

LD221354 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0730 GMT 22 Apr 84

[Text] Today's foreign political commentary is by Antonin Kostka.

Undoubtedly many still remember what the so-called Easter Peace of the Red Cross was. It was a worldwide action between the two world wars when bells and sirens sounded every year on Easter Saturday and all the people stopped so that they would recall the sacrifices of World War I and express their rejection of further wars. As is known, this eloquent suggestive action did not help, did not succeed in averting suffering and losses roughly five times larger, because passive silence is too weak a weapon against those inconsiderate circles who are willing to sacrifice anything in the name of their privileges, gains, and power. It seems, however, that people have learned, learned a lot from this; because this year as every year they demonstrated their decisive wish for peace at Easter, not by way of passive silence but through very loud, even stormy methods. Millions of inhabitants of all countries, but in particular those of West European NATO member-states, came out into the squares, into the streets, and gathered in front of the United States military bases. They emphatically demanded that there be an end to the up to now dangerous course of preparations for war and scare tactics, and that American means of a first nuclear strike be removed from West Europe and that talks take place, on an honorable and equal basis, regarding effective measures against the danger of nuclear war, in order to seek and find ways for securing true assurance and security and forming the prerequisities for lasting peace between natations.

The socialist countries received an answer which, though indirect, is unambiguously positive from the Budapest session of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member-states, and this on the very eve of the holidays of spring and peace. Yes, socialist countries are fully prepared for the widest possible dialogue about all the burning questions of the present, they are willing to undertake any far reaching disarmament measures about any sort of weapon, if this is founded on a basis of honor and equality, if it is bilaterally balanced in such a way as not to damage the interests of anyone. And as proof of concrete willingness of such a dialogue, the ministers proposed the withdrawal of retaliatory measures in the section of nuclear missile armament if the West removes the cause of these measures; that is, American means of first nuclear strike which were insalled in Europe at a time when talks were being held about the nuclear demilitarization of Europe. A proposal which directly corresponds to the spontaneous demands of the very public of West Eruope, so eloquently expressed in the traditional Easter peace marches and demonstrations.

Other important questions, of course, were also the subject of the talks of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member-states, such as concern for strengthening trust and security in Europe, and with the regeneration of the process of international detente in the world. Those who are responsible for today's dangerous tension in the world were pointed out with all authority and emphasis. But the points of departure were emphasized equally unequivocally and the wide-ranging complex of peace proposals by socialist countires in the last period were emphasized, to which the public has not yet had a satisfactory and constructive answer from the member-states of NATO.

Everyone who this week followed the session of the CPCZ Central Committee and became familiar with the demanding tasks of further perfecting the socialist system, undoubtedly welcomed the active contribution of Czechoslovakia at all disarmament forums as was noted by the Budapest session and the positive task of our country in coordinating the foreign effort of socialist countries, because ensuring reliable security and the constructive nature of international relations is one of the main prerequisites for the successful peaceful work of our people. In the interest of peace, the requirement of the times is not pious silence and mute solidarity, but sharply raised voices against all injustice, intrigues, and confidence games from the opposers of international understanding and the enemies of more humanitarian and more equal conditions between nations.

It is therefore encouraging to see what bitter and wide reaching disagreement the terrorist activity of the American CIA against Nicaragua is evoking, as well as their Pol Pot wards in the Thailand-Kampuchea border region. It is not a case of logical and legitimate solidarity with the threatened and weak. It is impossible to overlook the fact that immediately after it became apparent that the CIA -- which was carrying out the orders of the President to mine the Nicaraguan ports -- had already begun a number of other acts of diversion last year, a directive was put forward for congressional approval which is intended to legalize these actions post hoc, and moreover, to empower the American spy service to undertake further acts of diversion and sabotage should the situation and interests of the United States demand it. Such official state banditry and wilfullness can not be tolerated by nations in their own interest if they do not want to risk finding themselves at any time in a similarly difficult situation as Nicaragua today. Their resistance against the terror unleashed by Washington against Nicaragua is an expression of their dismissive attitude.

The past week however brought further expressions of basic disagreements and doubt as far as Washington's policy is concerned. For example the international public received with great disappointment and skepticism, the ostentatiously presented, long promised, and far-reaching proposal for the banning of chemical weapons, by Vice President Bush at the conference for disarmament. Fundamentally, it did not differ from other similar peace gestures of Reagan's government.

On the surface it not only lacks the most basic requirements of similar documents, such as the definition of chemical weapons, that is the weapons which should be banned, but, what is more, in the list of concrete types of poisonous substances which should fall under the ban, it is hardly a matter of chance that the substance VX was forgotten; it was most probably omitted because this forms the basis of the current chemical arsenal of the United States. Equally left out are so-called binary or dual-component chemical weapons, the production of which Washington is exclusively developing at the moment. As far as the control suggested by Bush is concerned, it does not touch on, as could logically be presupposed, any future agreed bans, but simply affects state enterprises of the chemical industry. The naive transparency of this trick leads one almost to despair, and apparently counts on totally uninformed pepple, who are not aware of even such a basic fact, that while in socialist countries all enterprises and factories of the chemical industry are state owned, on the contrary in the United States of America the enterprises concerned are almost exclusively private. This means 100 percent control of socialist countries in contrast with a completely peripheral control on the United States. The doubtfulness of the American proposal was at the same time even underlined by the President's request for the freeing of another billion dollars by Congress for chemical armament. The reason as usual was according to the old recipe. It is possible to push through disarmament in chemical weapons only by force.

In this situation full of conflict which, is characterized by similar phenomena which bear witness to the stubborn determination of the current Washington government to continue on its dangerous course of military preparations, scorning of public opinion and provacative running to a head of international relations, the declaration of the CPCZ Central Committee, the National Front Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Government on the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, published yesterday, has a great and specific significance. It clearly delineates the attitude of our people to the current international reality. It emphasizes its unity and firm determination to continue in the peaceful building of socialism. It reemphasizes the strong place Czechoslovakia has in the fraternal family of socialist states, and international understanding, when it adds as a basic certainty of our present, the tested alliance with the Soviet Union. It can be said with certainty that it is a document of the Czechoslovak present and future.

SUPERPOWERS USE TALKS TO DISGUISE ARMS RACE

AU192047 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 19 Apr 84

[Text] Agencies report that a new session began [as heard] today in Vienna between the two superpowers and their respective blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in connection with the supposed reduction of troops and weapons in central Europe. These talks have been going on for 10 years, but to date agreement has not been reached yet even on the agenda. In today's session, as is reported, the United States and NATO put forward a new proposal which envisages a new agenda of the main questions to be discussed, and seeks to find new ways of calculating the forces of both sides on the European continent.

As has been reported, a new American proposal was put forward yesterday at the Geneva disarmament conference in connection with the problem of chemical weapons, but agencies report that it is unlikely that this proposal will help find a way out of the impasse on this problem, on which talks have been going on for 15 years. In presenting this proposal, U.S. Vice President Bush declared that he will ask for a [word indistinct] of talks. Negotiations are thus continuing endlessly, while Washington and Moscow are increasing the number of their troops and their weapons in Europe and are implementing new programs to increase their nuclear weapons arsenals in this area. Farces of this kind serve both superpowers in disguising their arms race, and they are not sparing proposals and demagogic slogans for this purpose.

NO BREAK IN MBFR DEADLOCK BEFORE U.S. ELECTIONS

LD221142 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0605 GMT 22 Apr 84

[From "Seven Days in Five Continents" program]

[Excerpts] In the Austrian Capital, the 32d round of the MBFR talks concluded just this week, on Thursday, when the American side presented Reagan's much publicized proposals. Before I enquire about this, I ask Andras Heltai, [not identified further] at the Vienna end of the line, to remind us about the venue and basic circumstances of the exchange of views, which is in progress for the 11th year. Has there been any progress at all, and what does the new American proposal contain?

[Begin Heltai recording] Unfortunately, one cannot speak about progress. At the request of the socialist countries, from December there was a 3-month break, longer than usual, between the two rounds of talks, in the hope that the West would have time to prepare a substantive response to the detailed draft-agreement of the Warsaw Pact submitted last year. However, the response, due for a long time, arrived only last week, at the end of the spring round, and in truth, it was not a response.

In another form NATO again brought up the counting of forces, which has paralyzed all progress for so many years. At the same time, it is only willing to negotiate over the reduction of troops, and not the issue of weapons; however, this was agreed on in 1973, when these talks started. After such preliminaries and in the given international atmosphere, unfortunately it is difficult to predict any progress in Vienna. American politics plays for time here too, and its allies reluctantly collaborate in this. It is feared that things in Vienna will not move out of the deadlock either, prior to the American elections. [end recording]

BTA DENIES SOVIET MISSILE DEPLOYMENT IN BULGARIA

AU201622 Sofia BTA in English 1542 GMT 20 Apr 84

["BTA Declaration" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 20 (BTA) -- There have been recent allegations in some West European countries' mass media that Soviet nuclear missiles have been deployed on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria or that preparatory work has been going on to deploy such missiles aimed at Bulgaria's southern neighbours, Italy and Northern Africa.

The BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY has been authorized to declare that these reports are lacking any grounds whatsoever. There are neither medium-range nor tactical missiles in Bulgaria. The question of installing Soviet nuclear missiles on Bulgaria's territory has never been raised nor discussed at any level or forum whatsoever. The appearing reports are mere inventions by those circles in the West who are keen on diverting the world public opinion to the wrong direction so that they can take their time to fulfil, undisturbed, their own plans for deploying new U.S. medium-range missiles in some NATO member states and for preparations for nuclear war.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is fully determined to defend peace, to promote the establishing of relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries. She is actively working to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The practical implementation of this idea would frustrate the NATO plans for preparations for a nuclear war in this region as well.

REAGAN ANTITERRORIST DIRECTIVE SERVES OPPRESSION

AU191322 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 19 Apr 84

[Text] Tirana, April 19 (ATA) -- President Reagan signed "a special directive on a preventive and repressive blow against the anti-American terrorist activity abroad".

First it must be said that the label "antiterrorist" affixed to the special directive of Reagan is addressed to the liberation struggles all over the world, the democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist movement, against which the American President wants to carry further the well-known policy of oppression and subversion, of plunder and enslavement.

Everything is done to hit and stamp out with fire and iron the just anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples throughout the world, who are powerfully opposing the American interference. This anti-American wave, these anti-imperialist sentiments, growing from day to day, are an obstacle for the implementation of the hegemonic plans and ambitions of American imperialism.

Today we notice an intensified aggressive activity by Washington in all the corners of the world. The label "preventive blow" represents a further extension of the fascist content of the former imperialist doctrines. "The new" [as received] brought by the White House chieftain is the intensification of the efforts to ensure and consolidate the American hegemony and domination, are the open and brutal claims to make the law in the world and the accentuated adventurous features of the American foreign policy.

PROPER HANDLING OF CITIZENS' COMPLAINTS URGED

AU211930 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Apr 84 p 1

[Excerpts] The right of citizens to present demands, complaints, remarks, and suggestions is an important principle which proves that in our country the people are in power and that all power organs are in their service and are compelled to consider the demands and complaints of citizens justly and in a party-minded way.

The demands and complaints of citizens and their remarks and suggestions on matters of personal or general interest must not be dealt with from bureaucratic positions, as an official obligation -- "You are complaining -- I am answering" -- without delving deeply into the political and ideological substance of the questions raised. This harms the links with the masses and unity. What is important is that the demands or complaints of the citizens be deeply understood, and in many cases this requires study. The Berat City Executive Committee has carried out a detailed study in connection with the demands and complaints of citizens in the field of housing and in accordance with the criteria that have been established. People have been informed as to when their demands will be dealt with. This has resulted in a reduction of letters and complaints, but has also placed on the power organs the responsibility of implementing the conclusions of the relevant study.

But despite the good work carried out, the number of demands and complaints is still considerable in some districts, areas, residential quarters, or villages. What are they about? They are about the most varied problems -- housing, residence permits, work, transfers, administrative measures, building grounds, and so forth.

The law on the demands and complaints of citizens requires that problems be dealt with in the same way everywhere by all state organs, and not in a differentiated manner. A question must not be resolved differently by the Fier District People's Council Executive Committee and by, let us say, the Tirana People's Council Executive Committee. A cadre in Vlore must not deal with a question differently from a cadre in Shkoder. The reason questions are dealt with differently lies partly in a shallow knowledge of the law and duties of officials, in the subjectivism of cadres, and so forth. These cases give rise to numerous complaints. Is it right that the central organs in Tirana should receive about 4,000 enquiries in a year?

The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania approved at its fourth session of the current legislature the law on dealing with the demands, complaints, remarks, and suggestions of citizens, making some additions to this law to further raise the role and responsibility of state organs and to enable them to resolve questions in a timely manner and in accordance with the law. This requires that the state organs gain a deep knowledge of the law and make a well-organized effort to implement it.

CONFERENCES STRESS UNITY, MILITANCY OF YOUTH

AU221546 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Apr 84 p 1

[Editorial: "The Objectives Set by the District Conferences of the Union of Working Youth of Albania Should Now Be Pursued"]

[Excerpts] The recently held youth conferences were an expression of the healthy moral and political situation of the younger generation and of its strong militant unity around the party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The high standard of the proceedings of these conferences was an expression of the standard of the youth themselves, who have further raised their revolutionary spirit, engaging in the movement to be where there is progress [reference to a movement carried out by youth called "Where Youth Is, Let There Be Progress" encouraging advanced work among youth. The struggle to achieve the objectives of this movement is part of the enthusiastic work carried out by all our people to meet with new successes the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the homeland's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution.

The youth conferences in some districts discussed the militant role of the youth. To be militant requires not only being advanced oneself, but it also requires that the whole youth organization be advanced, especially in the sectors and for the tasks set by the Eighth Plenum of the AWP Central Committee, such as in the oil, livestock, mining, construction, and other sectors. The objectives set to strengthen the socialist attitude toward work and property, to raise productivity, to improve quality, to place advanced scientific thought at the basis of production, to save raw materials and energy -- these cannot be achieved if the work of the youth organizations is not of the required standard.

Equally important and difficult are the objectives in the struggle against alien manifestations. As the party has continually emphasized, the pressure of the bourgeois-revisionist world, which attempts to infiltrate our people's consciousness through all forms and means, is addressed especially to youth. The district youth conferences pointed out the great work they have done in this field under the party's leadership. But there have also been cases where this work has been spontaneous, where it has not been continual and consequently of little effect, such as in the Shkoder, Tirana, Vlore, Fier, and other districts.

To achieve the set objectives requires the wide participation of all youth. The youth cadres who were elected must play their role. They must be closer to the mass of young people, to talk with them closely as workers, cooperativists, students, and pupils, and not only as members of a forum or secretaries of the youth basic organization. Sincerely standing close to the youth where they work, live, or study, those who have been elected will be able to better know and understand the thoughts and interests of the youth. If they find suitable forms and methods, the young leadership will not only increase the trust that the masses who have elected them have in them, but they will also help to more quickly achieve the set objectives.

FIGURES SHOW ECONOMY GROWING AT HIGH RATE

AU211708 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 13 Apr 84 pp 2-3

[Article by Professor Hasan Banja, director of the Institute of Economic Studies: "The Steady and Harmonious Development of Our Socialist Economy"]

[Excerpts] A distinguishing characteristic throughout the entire period of our socialist construction has been the priority development of the productive sphere, in which the major effort of our people has been centered, as well as the development of capital investments, major funds, and the material and financial worth of our society. From 1971 to 1980, social production increased 5.4 percent annually, whereas the population grew 2.3 percent annually.

The more rapid increase of material production compared with the population growth has created and continues to create the possibility to meet increasingly better the demands of the people, economy, and defense. During the previous 5-year period, the average annual increase in the social product was 6.1 percent while in some other countries it hovered between 2.7 and 4.6 percent. In this context, our socialist industry has developed rapidly -- its average annual growth rate during the previous 5-year period being 6.2 percent -- whereas in the current 5-year period it is expected to be 6.5 percent. As a whole, the volume of industrial production in 1983 increased more than six times compared with 1960 and was 1.5 times more than in 1975.

Our socialist agriculture has also changed its image radically. It has become a fundamental branch of our economy and has been modernized. In 1980, compared with 1960, that is over a period of 20 years, the production of bread grains increased four times, the production of vegetables 4.7 times, the production of milk 2.4 times, the production of eggs three times, the production of meat 1.4 times, the production of fruit three times, and so forth. Overall agricultural production in 1983 was 3.1 times higher than in 1960 and 1.7 times higher than in 1970.

The implementation of the demands of the economic laws of socialism now assumes particular importance, because the economic links have become more interrelated, and our economy is developing in the direction of general intensification and increased effectiveness. For example, while increased agricultural production during the 1966-70 5-year period was accounted for 55 percent by increased acreage and 45 percent by increased yields, during the previous 5-year period (1976-80) this proportion changed to 16 percent and 84 percent respectively, while in the seventh 5-year period (1981-85) it is expected that over 90 percent of increased agricultural production will be attained through higher agricultural and livestock yields.

USSR KOMSOMOL CHIEF SIGNS COOPERATION PLAN

AU201804 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] Sofia, April 20 (BTA) -- The basic trends of the future joint activity of the Dimitrov Young Communist League and the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union have been outlined in a plan between the two leagues on all-round cooperation and ever greater getting closer together for the 1984-1988 period. The plan was signed here today by Mrs Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, and Mr Viktor Mishin, first secretary of the CC of the Leninist Komsomol.

The two leagues will continue to be exchanging experience in the sphere of the communist education of the youth, in the spirit of socialist internationalism and indestructible friendship between the peoples of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. Their activity will be aimed at stepping up the contribution of the young people in the intensification of the national economies of the two countries, in raising the efficiency of the economy, the quality of labour and production. Work will be continued for the ever greater participation of the working youth in the fulfillment of the tasks set in the general scheme of specialization and cooperation in the sphere of material production up to 1990 between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

The document also provides for deepening the cooperation along the line of the local Komsomol and children pioneer organizations. The Dimitrov and the Leninist Young Communist Leagues will continue to be exchanging information and experience in their intra-league activity, on organizing joint researches, scientific and practical conferences and discussions on the problems of the Komsomol and the youth. The two leagues' coordinated activity in the international youth and students' movement is given central prominence in the future cooperation.

Today the delegation of the Leninist Komsomol led by the first secretary of the CC of the Leninist Young Communist League, who were visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, will leave for home.

BTA, ARMY LEADERS ENDORSE INCREASED COOPERATION

AU202100 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Apr 84 p 1

[Unattributed article: "About Military-Patriotic Education"]

[Text] The cooperation between the Main Political Administration of the People's Army and BTA is successfully developing. This was established by the leadership of the two institutions at a bilateral working meeting held in Sofia yesterday. Positive experience has been gained in reflecting major political-military events in our country, and broader and more thorough information has been disseminated about the life and activity of the People's Army. It was outlined that the joint activity should continue to expand so that the ideological-political work in the subunits of the army be varied, and the effectiveness of the military-patriotic, class-party, and international education of the people and particularly of the youth be enhanced. This will contribute to sharpening political vigilance and irreconcilability against bourgeois ideology and the ideological diversion of imperialism.

A document defining steps for future interaction was signed between Lieutenant General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, and Boyan Traykov, chief director of BTA.

ARMY PARTY CONFERENCE BEGINS WITH PRAISE OF ARMY

AU201456 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] The 15th All-Army Party Conference opened in Sofia today. Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, and Georgi Atanasov took their places at the conference's presidium and were welcomed by the delegates with prolonged applause. Lieutenant General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, read a report to those attending the conference. He emphasized that the Communists and the entire personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army are wholeheartedly backing the decisions of the national party conference and that they well understand that they are in conformity with their entire activity. He further emphasized in the report the positive assessment of the soldiers' work and also pointed out that the Bulgarian People's Army is a well-prepared and well-equiped modern army, able to fulfill with honor all the tasks set by the party in defending the peaceful labor of our people.

The conference continues its work.

Zhivkov, Dzhurov Speak

AU201840 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] The 15th All-Army Party Conference has been held in Sofia. Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Dobri Czhurov, Milko Balev, Georgi Atanasov, and Dimitur Stoyanov attended the conference. Lieutenatnt General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, read an introductory report in which he emphasized that the slogan of the party conference means for the Army Communists that the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army should be raised and maintained at such a level that it can be in position, together with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member-countries led by the Soviet Army, to repulse any aggressor regardless of his strength.

Comrade Dobri Dzhurov spoke at the conference about the complicated and intense international situation created by the most reactionary circles of the United States and of its allies in West Europe. Under these international conditions, our paramount task is not to allow the existing military balance to be violated in favor of imperialism and to maintain the constant vigilance and combat readiness of the troops.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who was particularly cordially welcomed with prolonged applause, addressed those attending the conference. The first party and state leader congratulated the Communists and personnel of our Army on behalf of the Politburo and Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee. He highly assessed the combat and political training of the soldiers and commanders and their readiness to defend the peaceful labor of our people. He also expressed satisfaction with the work of the 15th all-Army party conference. Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized the strategic, programmatic nature of the decisions adopted by the national party conference on further building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. He also spoke about certain major issues of the international and domestic situation.

The delegates elected a new party commission for the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army.

ACTIVITIES COMMEMORATING LENIN'S 114TH BIRTHDAY

Leaders Visit Monument

LD191753 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 19 Apr 84

[Text] An act of homage took place in Bratislava today to mark the 114th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin on the square named after the brilliant philosopher, revolutionary and politician. A joint bouquet from the CPSL Central Committee, the National Front of Slovakia Central Committee, the Slovak National Council and the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, was placed at his monument by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, Josef Lenart; premier of the Slovak government, Peter Colotka; chairman of the Slovak National Council, Viliam Salgovic; and other CPSL Central Committee Presidium members Jan Janik, Elena Litvajova, and Ludovit Pezlar; and other representatives.

Officials Attend Celebration

LD191931 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 19 Apr 84

[Text] On the occasion of the 114th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, a festive rally was held in the National Theater in Prague tonight. The participants in the rally recalled the life and work of this great thinker and revolutionary whose ideas and deeds brought about a transformation of the fate of all of mankind and made a profound impact on the development of the international communist and workers' movement.

Present at the rally were: Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic; Lubomir Strougal, federal premier; other members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee: Vasil Bilak, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, and Josef Korcak; candidate members of the Presidium of the party Central Committee: Jan Fojtik and Josef Haman; secretaries of the party Central Committee: Josef Havlin, Frantisek Pitra, and Jindrich Polednik; Marie Kabrhelova, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the party and other personalities of our political, public and cultural life. Among the guests was Aleksandr Botvin, ambassador of the USSR to Czechoslovakia.

After the Czechoslovak and Soviet anthems, Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the party Central Committee, delivered an address.

Pitra Memorializes Lenin

LD192310 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1655 GMT 19 Apr 84

[Speech by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Pitra at festive rally in Prague's National Theater to mark Lenin's birthday anniversary -- live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary and President of the Republic, esteemed comrades: The whole of the progressive world during these days is remembering the 114th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the most significant personality of modern history, an excellent thinker, a revolutionary, who dedicated his life to the struggle for the social liberation of the workers, for the victory of the socialist revolution and the creation of a new socially just communist society.

The most significant events of our century are linked with Lenin's name, with his theoretical, political, and organizational activity. Lenin was the creator of the new type of party, the party which led the working people of Russia to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to the victory of socialism. Lenin's plan for the building of socialism and the experiences from its realization are a never ending source of enlightenment.

Thanks to the creative implementation of Lenin's teaching about the building of socialism, our working class, our people led by the CPCZ, attained socialism. The experiences of the CPSU and also of other fraternal parties are a permanently invaluable help for us. His immortal part in the birth of a mighty socialist superpower, the USSR, will remain eternally connected with the genius of the personality of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. With the victory of Great October, imperialism ceased to be the universal system. The world was divided into two diametrically different social systems. On the one side, a world of liberated labor, the world of socialism, was created and began to develop. On the other side, the world of exploitation and repression, the world of imperialism is trying with all its means to hold on. The existence and struggle of these two social systems is the axis of the class struggle on the international arena. All the main changes which herald the birth of a new order serving the working man, cooperation and friendship of nations, come from Lenin's ideas. These ideas, as expressed by Mayakovskiy, are our knowledge, strength, and weapon.

On the occasion of this year's Lenin anniversary, we again appreciate everything done by the Soviet people in the interest of the most noble of Lenin's thoughts and its great contribution to the struggle for socialism, progress of society, and peace in the world, with great esteem and admiration. Soviet Communists, and all Soviet people with them, are implementing the program of the 26th Congress of their Communist Party. They are consistently implementing the Leninist course of further perfection of developed socialism. They are implementing a number of measures which speed up the transition of the national economy to the path of intensive development. They are successfully realizing the extensive socioeconomic and cultural program. They are deepening the system of the socialist government of the people of true democracy. The recent election to the Supreme Soviet again demonstrated the strength of this democracy, the unity of the Soviet people, the nations of the Soviet Union in the building of communism. The permanent nature of the Leninist heritage is again endorsed by the example of the CPSU, its strong link with the workers, the dedicated work for the well-being of the people, a heritage expressed in the thought that the strength of the party is in unity with the people, and the strength of the people is in unity with the party with its resolutionary vanguard.

Lenin's jubilee has a profound meaning to us. We constantly use Leninist criteria to check our path. In their light we assess our achievements and evaluate today's and tomorrow's tasks. Today's rally is also an occasion for identifying ourselves again with his ideological heritage and revolutionary bequest, and for thinking how to apply them ever more effectively.

In dealing with the tasks of construction of advanced socialism, our party always has considered loyalty to Leninism and a firm struggle against all attacks on this teaching as an important duty not only toward its own people but toward the whole international communist movement.

On the course of socialist construction, our country went though deep political, economic, and social changes in the interest of the happy life of the working people. The position of the working man has fundamentally changed: He has become a real manager and ruler in his country. A rapid development of production forces has taken place. Owing to socialist industrialization deep differences between individual spheres have disappeared.

The change of our agriculture to large-scale production was a work of enormous political, economic, and social importance. Thirty-five years of successful advancement of our socialist agricultural enterprises, the standard of their management and of the life in a village as such is a good illustration of the general validity of the ideas of Lenin's cooperative plan. Today they are also the basis for the constant advancement of our agriculture and the gradual increase of their self-sufficiency in securing a high standard of nutrition for our people.

It has been fully confirmed on the way of revolutionary restructuring of our society that whenever we have consistently upheld and applied Leninist principles we have scored great achievements. Whenever a deviation from the Leninist teaching took place it always resulted in serious error, to the extent of directly jeopardizing the very bases of socialism, as was shown by the crisis-ridden years 1968-69.

A great struggle had to be waged for the renovation and consistent application of Leninist principles. A milestone in this struggle was the historical April session of the CPCZ Central Committee 15 years ago which created the prerequisites for gradual formation of a new Leninist leadership of the party headed by Comrade Gustav Husak. The counterrevolutionary right-wing opportunist forces were defeated by a firm proceeding of Marxist-Leninist forces in the party, which was supported by all progressive citizens of our country. (?Consolidation) of the situation was secured and a path of all-round development of the society in harmony with the Leninist principles of building the party and the activity of the whole political system was launched.

The implementation of the general line of the building of the advanced socialist society, adopted at the 14th congress and elaborated at the 15th and 16th congress of the party secures further successful development of the society, maintenance and, according to possibilities, further improvement of living standards, strengthening the socialist system, strengthening the international position of Czechoslovakia and ensuring the happy and satisfied life of our people.

In the revolutionary changes of society, in the building of socialism, our party and all the people are supported by the firm friendship and alliance with the country of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, with the Soviet Union. We will never forget that it was the Soviet people and their Army which crushed fascism and liberated also our nations.

We are entering a period in which we will gradually recall the most significant turning points of the struggle of our nations for national freedom, up to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the glorious Soviet Army. As Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized, it will be an opportunity to bring the young generation in particular closer to and to emphasize the great ideals from which our liberty and socialist present was born, ideals which speak to today with vivacity, and from which we draw our strength for further struggle and work.

The deepening of alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union is an unwavering basis for our foreign political orientation. Our nations highly value the role of the Soviet Union as a decisive support for socialism, everything revolutionary and progressive, as the hope and guarantor of peaceful development. The efforts of imperialist circles to dictate their wishes to other nations are being broken against the strength of the Soviet Union. As is known, Lenin considered the building of the economy as the main sector of the struggle for communism. In fulfilling the conclusions of its 16th congress, our party also gives its main attention to economic and social problems, in particular the strategic line of intensive socioeconomic development.

An important tool for the pushing through of this line is the continual perfecting of the system of management of the national economy, the economic mechanism, the deepening of material involvement, the initiative of the workers on the basis of continually more consistent implementation of Leninist fundamental rules of financial autonomy. We must reach the point where enterprises carry full responsibility for the results of their activity, so that, as Vladimir Ilich Lenin demanded, the strictest possible control from the side of society, from the side of the state should exist, which would concentrate on the measurement of work and the measurement of consumption. Owing to the correct policy of the party, the dedicated work of millions of people, the development of their work initiative, in spite of the unprecedentedly complicated international situation and discriminatory measures of the capitalist world, we are being successful in gradually speeding up the dynamism of development of the national economy, to keep the living standards achieved and to strengthen the social certainties of our people. Compared with the high unemployment and social tensions characteristic of current life in capitalist states, it is an unusually important and valuable fact. It clearly shows the advantage of socialism over capitalism.

Change to the intensive path of development is being gradually implemented in our economy. Efficiency of production and of quality of work is growing. The position of Czechoslovakia in the world has been reinforced. However, we do not wallow in self-satisfaction. We critically evaluate the existing shortcomings and strive for their rectification. The 10th session of the Central Committee of our party which ended yesterday adopted a conclusion on the necessity to use the better results from last year for updating this year's plan. The aim of this striving toward higher dynamism is to utilize better and more efficiently the resources and possibilities inherent in the national economy, to progress faster in its intensification, and to ensure fulfillment and, according to possibilities, also the overfulfillment of the overall tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

In connection with the tasks of engineering, the Central Committee stresses again the importance of quality and speedy application of the findings of science and technology in practice. Socialism, Vladimir Ilich Lenin said more than 60 years ago, is unthinkable without technology, which is built in harmony with the latest scientific discoveries. It is necessary to bring about in all spheres of social life the penetration of this economic political strategy into the consciousness and activity of people, and especially in the management work. We must persistently put stress on making Leninist requirements of morality, socialist discipline, rewarding in keeping with the amount and the quality of work, strict accounting and control, high degree of organizing, and order a matter of course in all spheres of our life without exception.

A key condition for further advancement of our economy is its active involvement in socialist economic integration, primarily all-round development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the USSR. The demands of our days make it more inevitable to proceed much more firmly in this sphere. It is necessary to better utilize all possibilities and resources in the interest of development of each fraternal country for increasing the economic potential of the whole community and its position in the world.

An important tool of economic and scientific-technological cooperation among our countries is CEMA. Within the framework of this organization, our mutual cooperation, based on the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, respecting the needs of each country and of common interest is developing and will deepen further.

Remembering Lenin's bequest, we keep in mind that we can successfully master the demanding tasks of the eighties by continuously strengthening Marxist-Leninist unity and readiness to action of our party, by carefully guarding and reinforcing its link with the workers' party and the rest of the working people. We shall always keep in mind that Lenin defined the relations between the party and the classes as relations of mutual trust between the vanguard of the working class and the working people. This trust can be gained, maintained, and reinforced only by correct principled policy of the party and by patient work among the masses of the working people to strengthen their awareness and conviction about the correctness of this policy.

It is the duty of the Communist Party, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Konstantin Chernenko said, to compare continuously our own line, decisions, and actions above all with the thinking of the working class, and its great social-political and class consciousness. Vladimir Ilich Lenin always highly appreciated straightness, clearness, and wisdom based on experience of the working people. He sensitively listened to their views, and their assessment of events and people. He sought and kept finding their answers to the most burning issues. End quotation. All this puts high demands on improving political-organizational, ideopolitical activity, on cadre work, on consistent application of the leading principle of construction and activity of the party, of democratic centralism, of developing criticism and self-criticism, in the fight against bureaucracy, in the continuous improvement of the Leninist style of party and state work.

Comrades: In the current complicated situation the most important and most responsible task of Communists in implementing the bequest of Lenin is the struggle for the protection of world peace. In the struggle for peace our country has a natural ally in all peace-loving and realistically thinking forces. The USSR is the main pillar in this struggle. The CPSU and all our peoples fully support its Leninist foreign policy. We take an active part in deepening the unity and all-round cooperation of the countries of the socialist community. With all firmness it is necessary to reveal the intrigues of the U.S. imperialism and its attempts to violate the fraternal ties of our states.

We are in full sympathy with the struggle of the communist and workers' movement in capitalist countries. We support the just struggle of the nations fighting for national and state freedom, independence from imperialism, and against all neocolonialist reactionary efforts of imperialism.

The international situation has recently considerably worsened due to the aggressive forces of imperialism. The United States, in order to halt the progressive development in the world, has unleashed a new round of arms struggle. It builds up armament not only on the ground, but also on the sea, and in outer space. Its aim is to gain military superiority over the countries of our community, to apply against us the policy of pressure, blackmail, and diktat. Along with it they use military force for suppressing the revolutionary national liberation movements. This is illustrated by their stubborn assertion of their power interests in the Middle East, the insidious invasion of Grenada, aggressive actions against the free people of Nicaragua, against whom the United States practically opened an undeclared war, blowing up the hotbeds of tension and its continuous reinforcement of its military presence in various parts of the world.

A particularly dangerous game has been started by Washington on the European Continent. At the end of 1983, the deployment of U.S. first-strike weapons began. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries had warned against such a step. They had put forward a number of proposals for a just solution of problems respecting the security of both sides. However, the ruling circles of the United States and other NATO countries ignored all proposals aiming at maintaining military equilibrium in Europe.

Thus it has become necessary for the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community to adopt appropriate defense measures. Those who, against the will of their nations, have agreed with the deployment of new U.S. missiles, have taken upon themselves great responsibility. In particular we are concerned at the nuclear arming of the FRG.

In the near future, progressive and peace-loving mankind will mark the 39th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union and the democratic forces over fascist Germany. No one has the right to forget the sacrifices and misery of hundreds of thousands of people during World War II, unleashed by Hitlerite Germany. The present serious situation confronts everyone with the fundamental question -- what contribution will he make, through his stances and deeds, to averting the danger of war and reducing international tension? In this situation the principled stances of the Soviet Union, which we fully support, are of particular importance. Just as in the past, now again the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are permanently ready to open constructive negotiations. The peace proposals for the nonuse of military force, and for maintaining peaceful relations between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states, reducing the arms build-up, banning chemical and space weapons, and freezing and reducing military budgets remain valid. We support the method of honest and equal deliberations ensuring the equal security of all. We must not allow the European Continent to be diverted from the course so hopefully outlined by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Although international relations have entered a stage of increased danger, there is no reason to succumb to pessimism. The forces of socialism and peace are strong enough to avert the danger of a nuclear war. The aggressive policy of the reactionary circles of imperialism meets with an ever stronger and more determined opposition of the antiwar movement. We are all deeply convinced that, eventually, common sense prevails, and that peace will be maintained. However, to this end a lot needs to be done.

The latest session of the party Central Committee, and the resolution adopted by the party Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front and the Government of the Republic, have again underlined that the basis of surmounting the dangerous development is an effort for strengthening the unity of our community and its political economic, and defense potential. With the knowledge that at the moment there is no more important task than to avert a nuclear catastrophe and secure peace, we shall continue to strengthen the moral-political, economic, and defense potential of our country. We shall continue to develop and strengthen friendly relations and ties with our most loyal ally, the Soviet Union, and with other fraternal countries. Everyone of us counts, everyone can and must contribute to this great struggle with his honest work and his social activity as a citizen.

Comrades! The wealth of thought to be found in the heritage of Vladimir Ilich Lenin is an inexhaustible source of inspiration for all those who have connected their fate with the socialist future of mankind. The historical victories that have been and are being achieved by people under socialism cannot be divorced from the communist and workers' parties' loyalty to Lenin's teaching. This loyalty is not merely in stating adherence to these thoughts, but is, above all, in deeds. For us Czechoslovak Communists, Leninism has always been, is, and will be a tool of struggle for a better future of the working man, a reliable compass pointing the way to solving even the most complex questions. The strength of our CPCZ and our successes in socialist construction have always been based on the creative talent of Leninism. Leninism is the guarantee of new victories along the path to a communist tomorrow. [applause]

EUROCOMMUNISM LEADS TO INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION

AU201254 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 16, 18 Apr 84 pp 1-2

[Karel Horak article: "Victorious Leninism"]

[Excerpts] Every anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth -- and not only such anniversaries, but also our everyday life, our socialist present -- all recall for us the significance of Lenin's personality and of his work. In fact, it was Lenin and his theoretical activity and revolutionary practice that set forces into motion that are changing the world. By consistently fighting opportunism and revisionism and by defeating them, he revived the revolutionary character of Marxism; and by his theoretical contribution he ingeniously worked it out to suit the new conditions of development, A new kind of party grew up for the first time under his leadership -- the party of Bolsheviks, which won the Great October Socialist Revolution at the head of the Russian proletariat, and which installed the power of workers and farmers for the first time in history.

Obviously, even after the victory of the socialist revolution, the development in the individual countries was not rectilinear -- one did not achieve merely victories and successes. We also have problems and shortcomings, which we must resolve and overcome. The bourgeois propaganda abuses the real and the fabricated problems to show socialism only in the blackest of colors. In recent years it has been using in particular the "argument" of developments in the fraternal PPR. It is making every effort to prove that the difficulties that are being experienced by the PPR are the consequence of implementing Leninism and the "Soviet" model of socialism. But even the authors of these lies know full well that the problems that the PPR must overcome are not a consequence of socialist construction and the implemetation of Leninism, but a consequence of mistakes made in building socialism in this fraternal country, and that the splitting activities of the counterrevolution and the economic sanctions levelled against Poland by the governments of capitalist states had considerably contributed to those mistakes.

It is precisely the example of the PPR, and also the crisis-ridden years in our own country, that tellingly prove to us how dangerous the violation or rejection of the general laws governing the building of socialism is for socialist construction. They show us where a deviation from the Leninist path leads. It was no coincidence that in 1968 the opportunists and revisionists in the CPCZ rejected the Leninist doctrine; it was no coincidence that they attacked and liquidated everything that was based on Leninist principles. They strove to persuade the working people that our path since February 1948 had been full of mistakes and errors, and that our socialism should be "humanized" and "improved" in every respect, The slogan "Socialism with a human face," and the revision of Leninism, covered up the attempt to stage a counterrevolutionary putsch. Practice has proved that the revision and the rejection of Leninism both contradict the interests of the workers class and of the working people, and that they lead to serious mistakes and consequences in the activity of a revolutionary party of the proletariat. "The Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" stress that, under the layer of revisionism, the party had been losing its revolutionary character; and that this prevented it from implementing its leading role in the society.

The rejection and revision of Leninism lead to similar consequences in every communist party. That is also why the bourgeoisie and its propaganda apparatus are boosting and supporting every person who attacks Leninism inside the communist movement, who declares it to be obsolete and overcome, or who strives to replace it by some revisionist decoction.

It is no coincidence that so-called Eurocommunism has won such support in bourgeois circles. This has happened, and this is so today, because it rejects Leninism and proletarian internationalism; because it proclaims some kind of "third" road to socialism; because it casts doubts on, and discredits, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the experience acquired by the USSR and by the other countries of the socialist community in building socialism. Where this "new, Eurocommunist" road leads, is best known by the developments in the Communist Party of Spain -- it leads to the loss of influence in the workers class, to an internal disintegration of the party, and to a transition to reformist positions.

The current attacks against Leninism are not new. The revisionists and renegades have been attacking Leninism just as sharply, only using different words, throughout the period since October. On thousands of occasions, they have declared, together with their bourgeois bread-providers, that Leninism has been disproved and defeated. Behind these claims, today as before, the wish is the father to the thought.

Leninism is victoriously marching forward in the world; it is becoming the property of increasingly broader strata of the working people. Its victorious progress can be stopped neither by attacks of the bourgeoisie, nor by attacks of the revisionists. Because Leninism, like Marxism, expresses the general laws governing social development; it shows millions of oppressed and exploited people how to implement these laws, how to defeat the bourgeoisie, and how to install social progress and social justice. Herein lies its strength; that is why it cannot be defeated.

'MODERNIZERS' AID ANTICOMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

AU201340 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 16, 18 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Ivan Hlivka and Ladislav Tomasek: "In the Cloak of Pseudomodernism"]

[Text] Anticommunist ideology asserts the false proposition that, world socialism is stagnating. It claims that this is due to its being guided by the "Soviet model of socialism" and Leninism. Regrettably, such and similar views are aided by the activity of the "modernizers" of our doctrine.

They speak, admittedly, about the current needs of the development of socialism. However, the solutions they propose -- solutions that are often inspired by bourgeois sciences -- would ultimately mean an evolution of socialism in the direction of capitalism. The danger of such activity is all the greater as these people pose as creative Marxists. They seemingly operate from a Marxist platform, write about the need for a "modern" Marxism, but have nothing in common with real creative Marxism -- aside from the fact that they dangerously vulgarize it.

It is natural that the current practical and theoretical work of communists generates lively discussions. The number of revolutionary forces and segments in the world has increased sharply. They have markedly diverse traditions, a heterogeneous class and social make-up, different experience in practical policy, and they differ in the degree of their ideological maturity. The international situation is developing very fast at present and accounts for new, often unexpected, circumstances within countries, regions, and within the movement as a whole. However, only responsible Marxist-Leninist analyses of the situation can contribute to a practical solution of the tasks of our movement that have become ripe, as well as of current international political problems. Unfortunately, not all communist and workers parties -- to be more accurate, some of their representatives and theorists -- adhere to this principle, the correctness of which has been tested by practice.

Is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat "Outdated"?

It must be noted that the contemporary "modernizers" of Marxism-Leninism do not say anything that history has not yet known. For example, in the Belgrade POLITIKA of 3 August 1983, Slavoljub Bukic pondered the "lack of clarity" in the political terminology of communists. He relativized fundamental categories of our doctrine and cast doubt on the ability of the basic terms of Marxism to mobilize and activate.

The article begins characteristically -- with a meditation about the term dictatorship of the proletariat. The author refers to the views of some authors from other countries, who believe that this term does not reflect the actual state of the development of the socialist society. Thereby he wants to suggest that the need to "modernize" Marxism is felt in other socialist states as well, that this is a more general international phenomenon and need. By way of example, he quotes the assertion that "abandoning the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is based on a number of what are today undeniable facts," especially on the fact that, allegedly, in a socialist country there no longer exists a "proletariat in the classical sense of this word." Second, state power "does not have the character of a dictatorship, of one class exercising domination over another class." Third, "all classes and social strata in the country have a socialist nature and the whole society gradually makes them homogeneous.... This state is a state of the workers' revolutionary democracy, an expression of the political power of the workers class."

What doe these ideas betray? First and foremost, they betray a failure to grasp the gist of the term dictatorship of the proletariat. After all, despite the word proletariat in the term, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not tied to the existence of proletariat in the classical sense of the word; the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be associated merely with the function of domination, it is not confined to the solution of antagonistic contradictions. Its crucial function is that of a policy of leadership. This encompasses the process of shaping an alliance of working people in the period of transition as well as the steering of this alliance in the stage of building an advanced socialist society, which is the stage of the incipient process of homogenization of this society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the movement's goal, it is only an inevitable means. However, its inevitability is linked to a certain historical period of building socialism because the building of socialism represents, to use Marx' term, a natural historical process. The dialectics of socialism demand that this fact be taken consistently into account. This means, on the one hand, not to overtake the development and not to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat so long as its functions have not been objectively exhausted and, on the other, to simultaneously support all elements of all-people's democracy in the stage of building an advanced socialist society.

The term "workers' revolutionary democracy," which is being offered to us as a substitute for the dictatorship of the proletariat, only obfuscates the issues and, in fact, revises them from anarchosyndicalist positions. Moreover, without explicitly saying so, the term presupposes disagreement with the concept of all-people's democracy and, by implication, rejects experiences in this weighty issue. It also interprets in a highly liberal manner the relationship between revolution, democracy, and socialism.

The Living System of Marxism-Leninism

S. Bukic further notes that theoretical thought did not cease to evolve with Marx, nor with Lenin. Therefore, it is allegedly necessary to reject every formula that would like to fit the whole world into a single shape. Therefore, in lieu of the term Marxism-Leninism, Yugoslav Communists allegedly recommend a new formulation: "modern Marxism."

Surely, theoretical thought did not cease to evolve with Marx, nor with Lenin, just as development as such has not stopped. Marxists-Leninists do not deny and disregard this -- neither in theory nor in practice. The crux of the matter lies elsewhere. The integrated system of Marxism-Leninism -- and this is what some people do not understand -- expresses the general laws of social development that are objectively valid for the entire historical era of the emergence and development of the communist socioeconomic formation; it encompasses the past, present, and the future trends of the communist and workers movement. At the same time, our doctrine is open enough to be able, as a dialectical unity of theory and methodology, to respond creatively and with the necessary headstart to new phenomena. The "traditional" Marxist-Leninist theory is thus not dying but, on the contrary, it lives. Its significance and relevance are growing. Of course, the prerequisite for this growth is a living relationship between the movement's revolutionary theory and its revolutionary practice.

There Is No "Confusion of Terms"

Speaking about the term proletarian internationalism, S. Bukic notes that many people object to this term because it represents the "defense of one model of socialism and of one ideology." What he has in mind is the so-called "Soviet model" of socialism and the Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, this is a vulgarization. There is only one scientific communism. There exist no variants of it, no "national models." The Soviet Communists are merely most consistent in acting in harmony with the objective needs of the historical mission of the workers class and in creatively developing and implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They are most consistent in defending them against their enemies and distorters. They have also amassed the greatest practical experience in strengthening Marxism-Leninism and in the struggle against deviations of all kinds, deviations that do not enrich socialism, but harm it. They are doing so in the interest of the historical mission of the workers class, in the interest of revolution and socialism. The existence, security, and further development of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries are, for objective reasons, linked with the consistent implementation of the historical mission of the workers class, the theoretical expression of which is Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of history, proletarian and socialist internationalism have been tested by the most severe tests of class struggle. Let us, for example, draw attention to the effective support given to Spanish antifascists, to the great liberating role of the USSR in World War II, and to its assistance to socialist countries in their struggle against counterrevolutionary forces. The implementation of the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism has thus required a great deal of sacrifice and, therefore, it can on no account be lightly dismissed and supplanted by free pseudomodern terms.

This is the case, for example, with the ideas of so-called new internationalism. As has been demonstrated more than once (see, for example, TRIBUNA No 48/1983), these ideas introduce a lack of restraint into the movement. The "new internationalism" exaggerates the specific and unique circumstances under which the individual segments of the international workers class work, belittles the real weight of the needs of the movement, and disregards the objective dialectics of the world revolutionary process. The assertion of "new internationalism" in the name of new conditions of the workers movement has an objective (explicit or implicit) anti-Soviet orientation.

The idea of so-called new internationalism ignores the real state of the present world class struggle. It wants to stand "above" class struggle and to present it in a subjectivist manner as an "outdated concept." It is thus objectively adding grist to the mill of forces that oppose the world historical mission of the workers class, the development of the world revolutionary process, and its needs and goals. Last but not least, it weakens, degrades, and casts doubt on the influence of the world socialist community on the world revolutionary process.

Differentiated [clenita] Unity of Interests

One can also come across openly expressed doubts about the credibility of the term socialist community. S. Bukic writes that a certain unity of forces with a socialist orientation existed at the end of the last century, up to 1914. Since then, the main forces, social democrats and communists have been so far apart that they have spent a considerable part of this period competing against each other. According to him, this should prove the nonexistence of the socialist community.

Aside from this, he unjustifiably expands the term socialist community. He includes among the socialist states countries with a socialist orientation and even countries ruled by social democrats or other forces that, by virtue of their sociopolitical essence, belong to the capitalist or developing worlds. However, the category socialist community has an absolutely specific and precise content and place in the world socialist system. It expresses not only objective relations and alliances but also a system of well-thought-out and organized economic, political, and ideological ties among socialist states. Within the framework of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, these relations are a result of the scientific perception and implementation of the socialist countries' objective international cooperation and assistance. The term community expresses a higher degree of their cohesion.

The history of the workers movement knows a considerable number of theoreticians and practicians with a metaphysical way of thinking, who have nondialectically claimed: Either the movement's unity is absolute, or one cannot speak of unity at all. These people are blind to the fact that the unity of the movement never has been absolute, and that it never will be absolute because this runs against the nature of social development. In fact, were such unity to exist, the dialectics of the general and the particular would become superfluous. Only differentiated unity exists; it stems from the short-term interests of the international workers class, from interests that differ from region to region and which, for a number of reasons (mostly historical ones), are expressed in various subjective ways, more or less corresponding to the true interests of the class. The important thing is to develop this variety of interests in harmony with the strategic interests (which have an international content and foundation), so that it strengthens these latter interests and acts as a driving revolutionary force.

Under certain circumstances, the variety of interests may temporarily result in conflict [rozpor]. Naturally, this conflict is of a nonantagonist nature and can therefore be resolved; and, indeed, our movement has always been politically, gradually resolving it. The mission of true Marxist-Leninists, of the followers of proletarian and socialist internationalism, is to do everything to prevent any difference of interests (in consequence of an irregular development of the world revolutionary process) from developing into a conflict that threatens the unity of the movement.

The Fight for Peace -- a Form of Class Struggle

A substantial lack of understanding of the basic issues of Marxism is also revealed, for instance, in the statement made by H. Biscevic in the Zagreb paper VJESNIK when he says that Marx's idea of class struggle is making international detente more difficult, that it leads to a policy of confrontation between the blocs, and that it serves great-power interests. The author of the article concedes that Marx's idea that the class struggle in a class-divided world represents the source of progress is correct. But he does so in a way that reveals that he has failed to grasp how the whole of present political life is an expression and an inseparable part of the class struggle on a worldwide scale.

The class struggle is part of existing social life, independent of our consciousness, regardless of whether we acknowledge its existence or not, regardless of whether we reproduce its laws exactly, or whether we have one-sided, metaphysical notions about the class struggle. The class struggle is no ideological myth, it is an objective reality that significantly influences the activities of classes, social groups, and nations. Its logic penetrates all corners of our planet, because the polarization of forces represents a substantial feature of current social development.

Apart from this, H. Biscevic has failed to grasp that the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the class struggle does not exclude this struggle from the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. We do not connect class struggle on an international scale with a war solution. As part of the world peace forces, the socialist countries are doing everything to avert a world war. But they are also responsibly ensuring their defense ability, so as not to become a victim of imperialist aggression. International tension is now being exacerbated by the United States. Proof of this is, for instance, the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. These facts should be clear to Marxists. In the same way that it should be clear to them that the socialist countries do not export revolution, which is, on the contrary, a consequence of socioeconomic and other conflicts. Revolution cannot be exported; but, taken historically, neither can anybody prevent it.

-- The key categories of Marxism-Leninism should therefore not be regarded as obsolete even before one has grasped them. The creative Marxist-Leninists do not treat the basic ideas of their movement as though they were exhibits in a museum; they responsibly study the current manifestations of these ideas. They study how to deepen the leading role of the workers class and of its political movement, and how to understand the relationship between the fight for peace and the class struggle -- how to get a clear idea of the place and role of the world socialist system in the present class struggle. That is also why they are fighting everything that hampers their effort.

HUSAK RECEIVES NEW UN AMBASSADOR CESAR

AU201329 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Prague, 18 Apr (CTK) -- Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, has received the newly appointed Czechoslovak ambassador, Jaroslav Cesar, in connection with his taking up the post as head of the CSSR permanent mission to the United Nations Organization in New York.

PROGRESS REPORT ON NUCLEAR POWER STATION

LD202157 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] Perhaps you already know that our nuclear power station, V1, in Jaslovske Bohunice has fulfilled the plan of production of electric energy by almost 110 percent for the first quarter. In this way, it partially fulfilled the output we expected from our next power production unit, V2, because in spite of increased effort V2 has not been put in operation on the set date. What is the current situation of the preparatory work for putting this unit into operation? That was the question editor Stefan Brezansky put to the director of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station, Milan Kozak.

[Begin Kozak recording] At V2 nuclear power station, all assembly work has been successfully completed. All tests were carried out, which must precede putting the unit into operation. However, increased demands for nuclear safety resulted in some new problems which occurred in the past period, which we are now solving in cooperation with Soviet experts.

Some necessary calculations were carried out. It is expected that some necessary jobs will have to be completed and they demand some time. There are, however prerequisites that everything will be ready for putting the first unit of V2 into operation. Regarding work on the second unit, there is some delay, approximately 2 months, and we are preparing the assembly of the first parts of the primary circuit. [end recording]

[Reporter] Will the delay in putting the first unit of V2 into operation have a negative effect on the adherence to set dates on the second unit?

[Begin Kozak recording] No, it should not affect the work on the second unit, as their problems are quite different. The second unit faces only one problem: how our subcontractors will master their tasks of supplies and assembly work. [end recording]

BRITISH ACTIONS AGAINST LIBYA CRITICIZED

AU201040 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Apr 84 p 7

[Julius P. Loerincz article in the "On the Margin" column: "Attacks Not on Libya Alone"]

[Text] For a long time now Britain has had no empire over which the sun never sets. From time to time, however, the general staffs of the British Army and security forces practice operations intended to revive memories of the past "glory of the British crown" and the "greatness of Britain." The effect of these is usually questionable, but the prejudice with which they have just gone "into battle" against the Libyan Embassy in London is real. Had the builders of London in their time imitated the builders of Venice there could even be an aircraft carrier and a nuclear submarine now squeezed into the canals between London's houses in order to demonstrate the British Government's "determination and strength" to the Libyans in their mission -- the Libyan Arab People's Bureau.

The reader already knows that reactionary Libyan emigree circles, supported by the British authorities, had organized a demonstration which culminated with an attack on the sovereign territory of the Libyan diplomatic mission and in (at the time I am writing these lines) an unclarified provocative shooting. The majority of the witnesses doubt the claims of British official quarters that the shots came from the Libyan Embassy building. The news agencies have reported the course of events and we, in this brief article, are not trying to take the place of their meritorious work. Something, however, has to be said about the context of this provocation. It is unheard of for British official quarters to violate so brutally the principles of inviolability, sovereignty, and thus the immunity of another country's diplomatic mission on their territory as is the case here. In addition, the undoubtedly good organization and, as it were, comprehensiveness of the whole provocation against Libya is conspicuous. For instance, in addition to the literally military siege of the seat of the Libyan diplomats, the government issued an order to a British airline on the regular London-Tripoli route to turn back, and all the leading London newspapers launched a truly hysterical incendiary campaign against Libya, actually calling for anti-Libyan programs.

This is not the first time Libya has been the target of such attacks. Its openly anti-imperialist policy evokes displeasure in the West, and as a consequence it is subject to various political and propagandist offensive and diversionary campaigns, economic pressures, various embargoes, and restrictions. In the anger that has now erupted against Libya, however, there is contained anger and hatred not only for one of the developing countries, but for all the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are striving for real independence, freedom, and equal status in the world, and to whom imperialism denies this as their legitimate right.

SCHUERER, PRC'S ZHU RONGJI DISCUSS ECONOMIC TIES

AU201327 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Apr 84 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Wednesday Gerhard Schuerer, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, received Professor Chief Engineer Zhu Rongji, deputy chairman of the PRC State Economic Commission, and head of the PRC economic delegation currently visiting the GDR. A comprehensive exchange of views took place on the further development of relations between the two states and in particular in the economic and scientific-technological field. At the meeting, which took place in an open atmosphere, the partners briefed each other on the level and the tasks in the building of socialism in the GDR and the PRC.

Joint interest was expressed in purposefully expanding cooperation in the economy, science, and technology by linking traditional and new forms of economic cooperation to mutual advantage. The important economic potential of the GDR and the PRC offers good possibilities for that. Gerhard Schuerer and Zhu Rongji spoke out in favor of expanding the contacts between the two countries' planning organs. The principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs and equal rights for the benefit of both states and nations form the basis for deepening cooperation.

Zhu Rongji expressed cordial thanks on behalf of his country's delegation for the GDR's kindness which made it possible to get to know numerous enterprises, combines, and institutions of the German worker-peasant state and to inform oneself on the spot about the efficiency of the SED economic strategy for the 80's.

He expressed his high appreciation for the great achievements of the workers, employees, engineers, and scientists in the production plants and institutes, as well as for the efforts of the cooperative peasants to increase the yields. All that speaks for the close affinity of the working people with the policy of the party and government in the 35th year of the GDR's existence.

The talk was attended by Dieter Albrecht, deputy chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and Eugen Kattner, deputy minister for foreign trade. Also present was Li Qiangfen, PRC ambassador to the GDR.

Earlier Oskar Fischer, GDR minister for foreign affairs, met with the Chinese guest for an exchange of views on the further shaping of the relations between the two countries as well as on international questions. Zhu Rongji stated that the visit of the PRC economic delegation headed by him is useful for the further development of interstate relations.

On the same day, Shi Lide, advisor of the Chinese delegation, and chief advisor in the PRC State Economic Commission, was received by Gerhard Briksa, GDR minister for trade and supply, for an exchange of experiences.

The Chinese guests' visit to the GDR concluded with the signing of a protocol on the results of the two delegations' talks. The document was signed on behalf of the GDR by Dieter Albrecht, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission, and on behalf of the PRC by Chief Engineer Zhu Rongji, deputy chairman of the State Economic Commission.

The protocol provides for a deepening of economic and technological cooperation in such fields as the modernization of existing Chinese industrial enterprises for processing machinery construction, agricultural machinery and vehicle construction, the electrical industry, equipment for the food industry, and other fields.

On Monday and Tuesday the Chinese delegation visited the Nagema combine, the knitting machine construction VEB in the Textima combine of Karl-Marx-Stadt, the Carl Zeiss Jena VEB combine, as well as the Wilhelm Pieck chemical fiber combine VEB in Schwarza.

Li Qiangfen, PRC ambassador to the GDR, gave a dinner on Tuesday evening in honor of his country's delegation. It was attended by Ernest Hoefner, minister of finance; Guenter Wyschofsky, minister of chemical industry; the members of the GDR delegation to the economic talks; and other prominent figures of the GDR.

On Wednesday afternoon the Chinese guests were seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Dieter Albrecht and Eugen Kattner. Also present was the Chinese ambassador, Li Qiangfen.

REICHELT DISCUSSES ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN DPRK

LD211742 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 21 Apr 84

[Text] Pyongyang, 21 Apr (ADN) -- At the end of the eighth meeting of the consultative committee of the GDR and DPRK for economic and scientific-technical questions, Kang Song-san, first vice premier of the DPRK, today received Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section of the consultative committee.

During the friendly talk, the first vice premier praised the great achievements of the working people of the GDR in further shaping the developed socialist society in the 35th year of their state's existence. He expressed thanks for the active support which the GDR was giving to the Korean people in its struggle to preserve peace on the Korean peninsula and for a peaceful solution of the Korean question.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction at the multifarious progress in bilateral cooperation achieved since the meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee.

They paid tribute to the results of the committee's consultations, which further contributed to the development and deepening of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries. The consultations also focused on measures in the spheres of the metal processing industry, the raw materials economy, the training of skilled workers, mutual trade, and science and technology. The partners in the talk reaffirmed their great interest in deepening this cooperation, which assists the fulfilment of the 5-year plan in the GDR and the future plan targets of the DPRK.

Taking part in the meeting were Kong Chin-tae, vice premier of the DPRK and chairman of the DPRK section of the consultative committee, and GDR Ambassador Karl-Heinz Kern.

Delegation Arrives in Mongolia

LD222017 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 22 Apr 84

[Text] Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, arrived in the Mongolian People's Republic today. He is heading the GDR delegation to the 13th session of the joint economic committee of the two countries. He previously held talks on economic matters in the DPRK.

MSZMP CC ISSUES COMMUNIQUE ON 17 APRIL SESSION

AU201120 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Apr 84 pp 1 - 2

["Communique on the 17 April Session of the MSZMP Central Committee"]

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee held a session on 17 April 1984, presided over by Comrade Janos Kadar. Participating in the session were, in addition to the members of the Central Committee, the heads of the departments of the Central Committee, the first secretaries of the county party committees, the secretaries of the Budapest party committee, the chairman and secretary of the Central Control Committee, the secretaries of the National Trade Union Council, the members of the Council of Ministers, the heads of the major national organs, the scientific and practical experts who participated in the preparatory work, and the heads of the central press.

The Central Committee discussed and approved:

-- a report submitted by Comrade Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, on topical international issues, and

-- a proposal submitted by Comrade Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, on tasks of the further development of the system of economic macromanagement.

I.

The Central Committee reviewed the development of the international situation and the foreign political activity of the party and state organs since its last session.

1. The Central Committee concluded that the previous unfavorable processes continue to prevail in the international situation. The extremist circles of imperialism, above all the United States wish to impose a dangerous new phase of the arms race on the socialist countries, on the whole of mankind. The deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe is continuing. World peace and security is also threatened by local armed conflicts and crises.

The Central Committee expressed its conviction that easing of international tension and restoring mutual confidence is the common interest of all countries and peoples. In this situation, the socialist countries are leading an even more perservering peace policy. The Hungarian People's Republic is pursuing an active foreign policy, it is maintaining and developing its relations with the responsible factors of countries of other social system in the interest of easing international tension. The Hungarian social organs feel solidarity and strive to deepen relations with all the movements and organs that advocate the safeguarding of peace.

The consistent efforts of the socialist countries for peace is reflected by their important proposal, valid also today, which calls for NATO and Warsaw Pact members to mutually renounce the use of force against each other, and agree on the peaceful development of relations. Easing the international tension is also served by the new joint initiatives which refer to making Europe free of chemical weapons, and to the mutual halt and decrease of military expenditures. The socialist countries wish for a positive response from the NATO countries as soon as possible.

Hungary supports the Soviet proposals for a general ban on nuclear weapons tests, preventing the militarization of space, and other efforts to limit armament. Hungary greatly appreciates the Soviet Unions' readiness for peaceful cooperation, for substantive talks based on equality with every state that is willing to promote, through practical steps, the easing of international tension and the development of an atmosphere of confidence.

The Central Committee is greeting the efforts directed to maintaining the East-West dialogue, including the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and security, as well as the Vienna talks on the reduction of forces and armaments in central Europe. The Central Committee considers it necessary for an agreement to emerge at these forums on confidence-building measures and the reduction of military confrontation. The Hungarian People's Republic, for its part, is prepared to do everything to insure that the military balance of power is maintained at the lowest possible level of arms, and that the unfavorable processes are halted and become reversible.

2. The Central Committee stresses: Our party will consistently endeavor in the future, too, to develop with undiminished energy Hungarian-Soviet cooperation in all areas, strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, and strengthen the friendship among our peoples.

The MSZMP greets the decisions and positions of the CPSU Central Committee of 13 February 1984, and of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 11 April 1984. Its conviction is that the CPSU Central Committee -- headed by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, will consistently pursue the guidelines determined at the 26th congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums. We wish the Soviet people to achieve further outstanding results in perfecting the developed socialist society and the realization of the Leninist peace policy.

The deepening of bilateral cooperation between Hungary and the socialist countries was well served by the recent visits and talks of our party and state leaders.

Comrade Janos Kadar's official friendly visit to the SFRY has further strengthened the extensive and good-neighborly relations between our countries. The talks held in an open, comradely atmosphere gave an impetus to the continuous development of cooperation between our parties and peoples. It was also expressed this time that the development of our relations is based on the fundamental principles of mutual respect, and recognition and consideration of particularities and differences.

The visit by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to our country has strengthened the cooperation between our countries. It has contributed to the further multifaceted development of our relations and intensified, in the spirit of mutual trust and internationalism, friendship between the peoples of two neighboring countries building socialism.

The talks of Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, in Hungary, have promoted a further exploitation of the possibilities inherent in our cooperation. At the same time, the development of friendship between our peoples and relations between the two countries strengthens the cohesion of the socialist community and serves well our common international endeavors.

Our party delegation's official friendly visit to Cuba has further intensified relations between our parties and countries and strengthened our solidarity with the Cuban people.

3. Even in the international situation that has become more tense, the Hungarian People's Republic continues to strive, as before, to further develop its relations with countries with a different social system on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage. Talks conducted with leading West European politicians have confirmed that an exchange of views can foster a better understanding of each other and contribute to an alleviation of international tension.

The visit of Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to Budapest was a significant event in the development of Hungarian-British interstate relations.

The official visit by Bettino Craxi, premier of the Republic of Italy, to Hungary promoted the continued fruitful development of Hungarian-Italian relations.

The talks were an expression of the fact that a substantive dialogue between representatives of countries with different social systems is possible even in a more tense international situation.

4. The Central Committee highly valued the visit by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to our country, which has furthered the development of our relations with the world organization and its special institutions.

5. The Central Committee stated that the Hungarian People's Republic continues to stand for a just and lasting situation of the Middle East crisis. The failure of the numerous imperialist military interventions in the domestic affairs of Lebanon shows that the problems of the area can only be resolved in a manner acceptable to all the sides concerned by political means.

Our public follows with attention the events taking place in southern Africa. Our country supports the efforts of the Governments of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola to consolidate the power of the people. It reaffirms its solidarity with the African national liberation movements struggling against racial policy and for independence and social progress.

The Hungarian people resolutely condemn the aggressive acts being carried out by reactionary systems and counterrevolutionary forces, with the participation of the United States, against the Republic of Nicaragua, which are assuming increasingly larger dimensions. They support the just struggle of the Republic of Nicaragua and the efforts and initiatives of all forces interested in peace in the area toward a negotiated settlement of the critical situation in Central America.

6. The Central Committee highly valued the meetings and talks that have been conducted by our party, in the spirit of internationalist solidarity and comradely cooperation, with communist parties operating in the countries of the capitalist and developing world.

The realization of common endeavors and the development of bilateral relations were served by the visits of delegations of the Greek Communist Party and the Communist Party of Lebanon to Hungary, the participation of representatives of our party in the congresses of the Austrian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Luxembourg, the DKP, the Communist Party of Norway, the PCP, and the PCE, and talks by our delegations with leaders of the Finnish Communist Party, the Mexican United Socialist Party, and the Communist Party of the Netherlands.

A further intensification of our relations were served by the visit of our party delegations to Nicaragua, as well as the visits in our country by delegations of the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and the Commission for Organizing the Working People of Ethiopia.

The talks by our party delegations with representatives of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, the Finnish Central Party, the French Socialist Party, the Yemeni Socialist Party, and the Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party and talks in our country with delegations of the German SPD and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party have contributed to the furthering of the cause of international peace and security and better understanding among peoples.

II.

The Central Committee reviewed the functioning of our system of economic macromanagement and defined tasks for its further development.

1. The Central Committee concluded: The system of economic macromanagement in force since 1968 has proven functional and successful in practice. It has fostered the growth of the people's economy, the advance of the country, the improvement of the standard of living and living conditions of our people, and the building of the socialist society. Socialist production and ownership conditions have developed, economic progress has become more systematic. The independence of enterprises has increased, material motivation and the socialist principle of distribution according to work have become more effective. The interest of enterprises and the working people in well-organized and good quality work has increased.

2. The Central Committee concluded: In the work of socialist construction, increasing social and economic demands must be expected. The accomplishment of our tasks and attainment of our long-term social and economic objectives require us realistically to take external economic conditions into consideration, but what is primarily needed is for us to improve our work at home and exploit our economic endowments and the opportunities inherent in the socialist system to optimum advantage.

Experiences prove that a system of economic macromanagement that is consistent with the country's endowments and functions effectively is essential for the building of a socialist society and the attainment of economic-policy objectives. It is a fundamental demand that macromanagement be in harmony with the country's level of economic development and aid the accomplishment of the tasks of economic construction.

In the coming years, too, the development of qualitative factors and the intensification of the profit-making ability and the international competitiveness of the economy will be in the center of our economic activity. It is necessary to accelerate technical progress, reduce the specific use of materials and energy, and rationalize manpower management. The management of public property must be improved and the awareness of the working people of ownership must be developed. Measures must be implemented which mobilize collectives and, releasing considerable energies, result in an improvement of economic efficiency. Planning for the people's economy must be further improved, central macromanagerial activity must be strengthened, the independence and initiative-making ability of enterprises must be enhanced, and the role of the regulated market must be expanded.

3. The Central Committtee adopted the position that the continuous and coordinated perfecting of macromanagement should encompass all elements of the macromanagement system -- planning, economic regulation, and the institutional and organization system -- and should promote a more complete development of the role of the human factor.

In conformity with the economic organizational function of the socialist state, the main tasks of central economic management are to be the following: elaborating the plan for the people's economy and the state budget, organizing and supervising their implementation, coordinating economic processes, developing means for macromanagement and making them operate.

The plan for the people's economy is the fundamental instrument for making the social interest prevail and for the macromanagement of the people's economy. Planning for the people's economy and plans must be more consistent with the phase of the intensive development of the economy and the tasks related to changing foreign economic conditions. Even under changing circumstances it must be ensured that plans are realistic and well-founded. The openness and flexibility of planning must be strengthened. Plans for the people's economy should take into account and consideration social processes closely linked to the economy, education, the training of experts, public culture, and social policy more than heretofore.

Economic regulation and economic competition among enterprises should create conditions that induce and compel all participants in economic activity to increase results and ouput and to be flexible in adaption. Profitable management is a general and fundamental demand on producer enterprises. At enterprises and organizations that provide social-policy and cultural-policy services that are important from a social viewpoint, in a few sectors of the infrastructure, and in health care, the financial regulation in operation should be such that it links the accomplishment of fundamental tasks to a high standard with the requirement of thriftiness.

With the development of the price system, we must see to it that the producer prices reflect only socially justified expenses, thus increasingly encouraging efficient management by the producers and consumers. The regulations for price forming and calculation must be made more simple, clear-cut and controllable. The reduction of producer price supports must be continued.

The consumer price system must be adequate for both economic and social policy requirements. The condition to ensure the necessary harmony between production and demand, and an adequate supply of goods, is for consumer prices to reflect the necessary expenses evident in producer prices. The consumer prices should not be separated for long from the producer prices. Long-term state support should be reflected only in the consumer prices of socially-politically justified products and services. The prices of basic consumer products and services to the population must continue to be determined centrally. Invariably, the prices of basic food, fuel, heating fuel, and other specific products and services must be part of the price structure officially determined by the authorities. The planned development of income and prices, as well as substantial control over consumer prices must be ensured.

An important condition to achieve our economic goals is that both moral and social appreciation and material interest should stimulate increased achievements. Earnings should better express actual achievements and should better reflect the social usefulness of work.

The regulations should enable higher earnings in the case of enterprises with efficient management and profitable production, and they should prevent higher earnings at enterprises where this is not supported by efficiency. The current regulations concerning the average wage should be discontinued at enterprises where methods encouraging an increase of output can be used, and where economic competition and responsiveness to prices and expenses are able to restrict the payment of wages that are not in line with performance.

By further developing wage and income regulations, we must promote the more consistent assertion of the socialist principle of distribution, as well as restrict the practice and principle of egalitarianism, which has a retarding influence on achievement. First of all, giving material incentives to workers who take more upon themselves, show initiative, and outstanding achievement must be increased. The material interest and income of enterprise leaders must be linked to the efficiency of the enterprise management, taking into consideration also the attitude of the collective.

The basic features of our system of social benefits as developed over the past decades must be retained. The further development of social policy as well as the means for social benefits should strengthen the security of people's existence and mitigate unjustified social inequality. Efforts should be made to increase, in the long term, the share of income derived from work within the total amount of income. With the development of the economic management system and the organizational system, we must promote the assertion of efficiency requirements, increased enterprise independence, and the emergence of economic competition between enterprises. The size of enterprises must adapt to the requirements of profitability and rational production. Cooperation between state enterprises, as well as cooperation between state enterprises and cooperatives must be improved.

The relation between the organs of macromanagement and state enterprises must be further developed so that the sphere of influence of macromanagement should increase, and the responsibility and independence of enterprises in management should develop.

The existing form of enterprise management -- with an appointed manager, council of directors, and a supervisory committee -- is to be maintained in the case of enterprises providing communal and public services and at plants placed in this category by the Council of Ministers.

Without changing the character of property relations, two new forms of management are to be introduced among state enterprises -- management by an enterprise council and by an elected management. In the case of both forms of management, the establishment of enterprises and the determination of their sphere of activity, the form of enterprises management, the extent of managerial authority, and the closing down of enterprises are to remain within the state's sphere of authority.

-- Medium-sized state enterprises and certain large state enterprises should work under the direction of an enterprise council. The enterprise council is the strategic decisionmaking organ of the enterprise which, by the sphere of influence given to it, exercises certain rights of disposal and employer's rights connected to socialist ownership. It is the task and right of the enterprise director to continuously direct work and to make the necessary decisions to implement the enterprises plan. Members of the enterprise council should be representatives of the workers and of enterprise management. Secretaries of the enterprise party organizations, the trade union, and the KISZ organization should take part in its work. The workers' representatives are elected by the enterprise collective for a definite period.

-- Medium-sized and some large state enterprises should operate under the guidance of enterprise councils. The enterprise council is the enterprise's strategic decisionmaking organ that exercises, under a delegated competence, certain rights of disposal and employer's rights connected with socialist [as published] property. The continuous management of the enterprise and decisionmaking needed for fulfilling the enterprise plan is both the enterprise director's task and duty. Deputies of the working people and representatives of the enterprise management should be included in the enterprise council. The secretaries of the enterprise's party organization, trade union, and KISZ organization should participate in its work. The working people's deputies are elected for a specific period of time by the enterprise collective.

In the case of enterprises managed by an enterprise council or an elected leadership, control of legality is to be exercised by the branch ministries, or the municipal, county, or locally competent councils.

4. The Central Committee reviewed the social implications of the development of the system of our economic macromanagement.

It emphasized that the attainment of our social and economic objectives calls for a considerable enhancement of the productive capacity of the people's economy and a consistent elimination of the factors preventing this. It concluded that an enhancement of economic performance is hampered by a relative backwardness of the technical standard, an insufficient prevalence of material incentives, an extensive area of economic activites of low efficiency or of deficiency, weaknesses in the work of direction, deficiencies in plant and labor organization, laxities in work discipline, and inappropriate employment of manpower at some places.

One objective of the further development of economic macromanagement is to enable us to find a socialist solution for all these problems, a solution that fosters a gradual elimination of unfavorable processes and ensures the accomplishment of our fundamental social and political tasks.

The Central Committee repeatedly emphasized that, in economic construction, defining and enforcing economic policy and overseeing its implementation constitutes the party's fundamental task. The main task of party organizations is to make economic-policy principles prevail locally, promote their implementation through political means, and ensure the support of and mobilize the masses. Through suitable ideological and political activity, they should shape the public's thinking, pay increased attention to cadre work and resolutely support good initiatives.

The Central Committee appeals to the trade unions, the KISZ, and social organizations to aid the further development of the system of economic macromanagement through their specific means.

The further development of the system of economic macromanagement should take place continuously and in a coordinated manner as of 1985. The Central Committee requests that the Council of Ministers work out the state tasks related to the development of the system of macromanagement and submit the necessary proposals to change the law to the National Assembly.

The Central Committee expressed its thanks and recognition to communist and nonparty scientists, theoretical and practical experts, and participating institutions, and to all those who took part in elaborating the agenda discussed.

The Central Committee has decided to publish the text of the position it has adopted on the further development of economic macromanagement in TARSADALMI SZEMLE and PARTELET.

BRIEFS

SOVIET ELECTRONICS MINISTER VISITS -- Aleksandr Shokin, minister of electronics industry of the Soviet Union, arrived in Budapest on 16 April at the invitation of Laszlo Kapolyi, minister of industry. He is having talks on the development of industrial cooperation between the two countries, and will pay a visit to the Microelectronic Enterprise, where the production of microelectronic components is developed with the help of Soviet technology. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Apr 84 p 8 AU]

COOPERATION TALKS WITH EGYPT -- Presided over by Istvan Torok, state secretary for foreign trade, and Dr 'Irfan 'Ali Safir, Egyptian state secretary for international investment and cooperation, the mixed Hungarian-Egyptian committee for commerce and economic cooperation began its work in Budapest on 17 April. It will examine what possibilities are available in agricultural and industrial cooperation. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Apr 84 p 8 AU[

URBAN, CZUBINSKI PRESS CONFERENCE ON LAW, ORDER

AU181243 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Apr 84 pp 5-6

["Transcript" of the press conference given on 10 April at the INTERPRESS Press Center in Warsaw by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban and Brigadier General Lucjan Czubinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline]

[Excerpts] L. Czubinski: I would like to tell you about the performance and powers of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline. I would also like to discuss the principles of its activities and the issues it deals with. As for the reasons that committee has been set up, the fact is that during the increasing socioeconomic crisis in 1980 and 1981, spreading anarchy, and a serious loosening of social discipline, the rule of law, including penal law, was frequently violated on a large scale. Martial law helped to reduce political crimes and, for a time, other crimes. However, after a brief respite, common crimes, especially felonies, began to increase, and this was also the case in 1983. For example, such dangerous crimes as rape increased 11 percent, armed robbery 18 percent, and burglaries of public and private premises 15 percent in 1983. An analysis of the reasons why many kinds of crimes have greatly increased in the past few years has indicated that the continued disarray of some segments of society, the depreciation of moral values, and the lack of research for the law and law-keeping forces -- all this is rooted in the sociopolitical situation of 1980-81 -- are still making a clear impact on social behavior, including violations of the penal law. The attitudes that are mostly rooted in that period of time also continue to hinder the cooperation of society and individual citizens in combatting and preventing crimes and other violations of the laws committed by certain segments of our community. Crime-producing factors such as alcoholism, parasitism, and drug addiction continue to be present on a large scale. For example, 66 percent of alleged murderers, 68 percent of alleged assaulters, 67 percent of alleged brawlers, 62 percent of alleged rapists and robbers, and 23 percent of alleged traffic offenders were under the influence of alcohol when committing their crimes. The poor safeguarding of property in many socialized enterprises and the lack of concern for this property on the part of some people in charge of it are also unfavorable features of security. Another such feature is the low discipline in some production enterprises.

Certain irregularities in some enterprises, defects of work organization and storage facilities, the absence of proper supervision over production, and shortcomings of the internal control bodies are also conducive to economic crimes. The threat of profiteering and property crimes can be partly explained by the situation in the market place, mainly by the shortage of the goods in demand in the shops. However, that shortage cannot be used as an excuse for thefts of property and for exploiting the people by some individuals and groups of individuals. The struggle against those manifestations of evil has to be waged in various ways by many bodies and organizations. The partially disintegrated [zdezintegrowana] activity of the crime-combatting bodies and of some controlling agencies as well as a partial effectiveness of their performance are among the weak points of that struggle. That has produced the concept and need to ensure a greater coordination of the efforts of the police, prosecution, and judiciary forces as well as of the controlling and administrative agencies, and to build up and expand the social base for these activities. As a result, the Council of Ministers issued Decree 168 on 2 December 1983 to set up the Committee for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline. In its turn, the committee set up four problem commissions: the Commission for Strengthening the Security of Citizens and Public Law and Order; the Commission for Combatting Waste and Bad Management and for Improving the Protection of Public Property; the Commission for Improving Penal Prosecution; and the Commission for Countering Social Pathology and for Developing the Legal Awareness of Citizens.

Those commissions are headed by members of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline who are also in charge of the bodies that investigate and assess penal crimes or who exert crucial influence in preventing such crimes. The Central Commission for Combatting Profiteering is also a member of that committee.

The committee's plan for the first 6 months of this year provides for implementing a dozen or so research subjects; some of them are long-term and involve activities to increase discipline. That applies mainly to the situation on the railroads and in automobile transportation and to the administration of liquid fuels. The committee will make efforts to improve the performance of the bodies concerned with the application of the laws in the widest meaning of the word. It will also make efforts to raise the incidence of crime detection, to improve penal proceedings, and to increase the material responsibility for crimes. In addition to those activities, the committee secretariat has drawn up an initial bill aimed at tightening the discipline of railroad employees and users and at increasing the legal protection for the Polish railroad employees, who often become victims of aggression while on duty. We have also drawn up an amendment to the law on buildings in order to tighten the discipline of the administrative services, janitors, and tenants. The aim of that amendment is to protect the apartment buildings and to improve the administration of other premises.

Another amendment we have drawn up concerns the Penal Code. It extends the accelerated penal proceedings and makes it possible to identify especially onerous crimes of an uncomplicated evidential character such as armed robbery, burglary, theft, assault, and so on. As is its task, our committee has launched coordinating activities to improve the performance of the bodies specialized in combatting the common crimes which are spreading -- to improve the incidence of detecting such crimes, to speed up penal proceedings, and to update sentences to fit the crime.

We are not satisfied with the detection rate of perpetrators of crimes. For example, only about 40 percent of the burlgars are caught. We are disturbed by the length of penal proceedings, which may take months, and our people are disturbed by the statistics issued by the prosecuting bodies, which state that 12 percent of armed robbers, 40 percent of rapists, and over 50 percent of those breaking into public and private premises are never caught. Our people are also dissatisfied with the fact that our courts fail to apply the full severity of the law when passing sentences, especially in meting out additional punishment and fines, and that only 5 percent of profiteers are sent to jail. This situation is responsible for increased recidivism and for a very high incidence of repeat offenders in dangerous crimes.

However, there is more to it than just improving the performance of the prosecuting and judiciary bodies. It has become necessary for us to stress very strongly that a crucial reevaluation must take place insofar as the attitude of our people and state bodies toward the observance of the laws is concerned.

We must improve control activities. The fact that in our country prevention of crime is a task that has priority over repressing crime makes it necessary for us to activate all the mechanisms of control and to improve the system of external control, which is made up of control by the state administration and by other specialized institutions. There is no proper coordination between external and internal control, on the one hand, and the needs of the prosecuting and judiciary bodies on the other. We will seek to expand the area of cooperation between state bodies and social control bodies, whose powers are being tightened, and we will motivate citizens' control activities.

Coordinated activities of all state bodies and all forms of civic commitments constitute a system of crime prevention, the normal functioning of which is a condition for stemming crimes and other features of social pathology.

These activities are a part of the extensive measures to ensure public law and order and social discipline. Our committee and other state bodies continue to deal with those issues as coordinators and sponsors.

However, the specialized bodies must not do the work of other state bodies or social bodies. It is generally true that no society is favorably disposed toward extremely extensive law-keeping, prosecuting, and judiciary bodies. That is correct because those bodies' tasks are rather narrow as are the resources for their implementation. Those resources in our country are rather modest. For example, there is only one judge and one prosecutor for every 10,000 citizens, and there is only one militiamen for every 3,000-4,000 citizens.

However, you should note that those ratios are theoretical ratios. In reality we have more vacancies than actual functionaries. Still, even under these difficult personnel and other conditions, the law-keeping forces are obliged to discharge their legal duties, and they do discharge them. Together with other bodies, we will see that all those specialized bodies keenly and urgently listen to the voice of the honest people, immediately respond to social moods, and take into practical account the demands and postulates of society. We realize that our activities will be subjected to regular control and evaluation by society and that they will be measured by a special yardstick -- the yardstick represented by the attitude of the honest citizen toward law, order, and discipline in our country. People have certain views of the standards of observing the rule of law. We think that if their views become more favorable, this will signify that the state and society are healthier and stronger and that evil is continuing to recede. This is precisely what we want to achieve. I profoundly believe that such a process will develop and will also produce positive changes in that sector of social development which demonstrates one's attitude toward the laws in force and toward public law and order.

Although not long in existence, our committee's activities have gained extensive recognition from our people, as proven by the many letters received by our secretariat and as demonstrated by other forms of support. The simple fact is that our people want to live, work, study, and rest in peace and quiet. That is why every measure to ensure such peace is received by them with praise and relief. Such is their attitude toward our committee; we are pleased with that. Against that background, it is to be regretted that some Western media not only fail to see the proper role of our committee -- this role is legally defined by the resolution of our Council of Ministers -- but, to put it mildly, inaccurately report on the functioning, action methods, and tasks of our committee. One of the most recent proofs of such Western activity was the following information beamed by the VOA on 3 April, which you are no doubt familiar with: "Repression in Poland is increasing." DIE NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG headlined an extensive commentary as follows: "The Secret Police's Influence Is Increasing." The daily continues: "It is most obvious that a new phase of the policy of repression against the many forces of opposition has begun in Poland. The significance of the State Committee for Order and Discipline, which was set up toward the end of last year, is becoming obvious. That committee has been rapidly transformed into a kind of super ministry of the secret police and security services. It has built up its organization and has extended its tentacles to the county [gmina] level. It is now playing its role as the main support for the Jaruzelski regime. It has been able to acquire basic influence over the judiciary. It is above the chairman of the Supreme Court and the prosecutor general. According to the Constitution, the judiciary and the prosecutor's office are separated from executive power and are subordinated only to the Sejm. The new structure removes in practice the nominal independence of the courts." (end of quotation) It is a short quotation, but how rich it is in falsehoods. I wish to state the following in that connection: First, we have in Poland well-functioning militia and security service bodies, which exist within the Ministry of Internal Affairs and which need no assistance, extra inspiration, coordination, or any super or hyper ministry or committee. Second, our committee is a social body, which employs just a few necessary people in its secretariat.

Our committee is no ministry. Third, perhaps this is a bad thing, but at the moment we have no branch committees neither at the county or the voivodship levels. Fourth, we have neither the power nor possibility to replace any bodies in their activities or to run such bodies, especially so in the case of the judiciary and prosecuting bodies. All those bodies' tasks and powers are defined by the Constitution. They have their own structures within which they are quite capable of performing their functions. Fifth, we are pleased that we have been called a support of our government and premier.

Three reflections to conclude this statement. First, perhaps it would be desirable for the sake of objectivity if some of those foreign circles that show so much concern for the Polish state organization, the structure of our central authorities, and the independence of the Polish courts and prosecutors, were to reflect on that official independence of the courts and prosecutors in some Western countries in which the prosecutor general is also a minister of justice and is as such subordinated to the premier or the president of the state -- that is, to executive power. Second, why is so much criticism leveled exclusively against the Polish committee, but no mention is made of such institutions -- past and present -- in the Western countries: at the Special Commission set up by President Johnson to draw up proposals aimed at curbing crimes and improving the prosecution of crimes; and at the regional commissions for combatting crimes that continue to function in Boston, Chicago, and other cities?

Unidentified reporter: Official information has most recently appeared that the number of political prisoners has more or less doubled. Does this mean that the Polish Government has decided to intensify measures against political opposition?

J. Urban: I spoke about this at my last conference. It is true that the security services and the militia have intensified their activities to eliminate the various places in which illegal literature is printed and the various places which distribute it. The press is reporting any such elimination activities. In some cases, but not all, the people caught in illegal activities are temporarily detained. At the moment the number of the people who have been temporarily detained and condemned for political offences is 416.

Sylvia Odoris, EFE: I want to ask General Czubinski whether the number of common criminals has been proportionately the same as, smaller, or higher than the number of political prisioners since the establishment of your committee.

J. Urban: This is a rather complicated question because we have no statistics on the proportion of political to nonpolitical prisoners. I think it serves no purpose to search for such proportions. Compared with the number of common criminals and other nonpolitical offenders, of whom there must be over 100,000 at present, the number of political prisoners is negligible. It is useless to see any proportions or connection between the two groups. You also asked whether the number of prisoners has increased in connection with the activities of our committee. We should not look for such connections, at least at present, although it is possible that if some laws are amended on the committee's initiative and if the courts mete out severe sentences for some crimes such as profiteering, for example -- only one profiteer in 20 is locked up -- then there will be a connection between the committee's activities and the increased number of prisoners. I want to stress that it is not our intention to increase the number of prisoners in Poland.

L. Czubinski: I would like to add two observations in that connection. First, I think a situation may temporarily arise in which the number of prisoners in jails may increase. However, let me immediately state that all nations and governments have the basic duty to ensure that honest citizens are able to live in peace and to be effectively protected against crimes, especially dangerous crimes.

I have mentioned certain cases to illustrate the deterioration in the sector of dangerous crimes which we have to more resolutely combat. At one time large numbers of convicts were being freed from jails before their time was up. That would have been all right but for the fact that a large number of the prisoners so freed committed new crimes, some of them very serious, before they reached their homes. The thing was that the people who should never have been released because of their exceptionally adverse attitude toward law were in fact released. What should the law-keeping forces have done in such a situation? Should they have acquiesced in the fact of all that? Certainly, they canceled those conditional releases and thus helped increase the number of convicts in penitentiaries. Could the situation have been different? Now let me say something more general. We think that as few people as possible should be kept in penitentiaries at any time. Only those people should be kept there who must be so kept. That is why our committee and other associated people who are responsible for various aspects of the application of the laws take the view that intensified prosecuting activities should go hand in hand with efforts to reduce the extent of penal measures.

That is why we think it is necessary to consider amending the Penal Code so that the provision that enables convicts to be conditionally released after serving two-thirds of their sentences should be changed to enable them -- especially women and older people -- to be so released after serving half their sentences. Juveniles are already entitled to such a provision.

We think that this issue will soon be submitted in a precise form to the competent authorities to be approved by them after it has been discussed with the people. We also think that it is necessary to examine the possibility for certain new kinds of punishment. I have in mind a special kind of punishment: labor in certain places and regions under conditions greatly different from penitentiary conditions for the people sentenced to 2 year's imprisonment and the people who have less than 2 years still to serve, provided they ask for such labor. The places of such labor would not be part of the penitentiary system. Despite some criticism, we also see the need and possibility for extending conditional annulments of convictions because such annulments are of great educational effect: Only about 4 percent of the people who have had their convictions conditionally quashed repeat their crimes.

I also think that in certain cases an additional sentence can suffice, for example, in the case of property, fines, and sentences that are published, or sentences forbidding the the person concerned from occupying suitable positions because they have committed a property-related crime. Aside from that, we envisage quite a few possibilities for increasing the use of measures which do not involve imprisonment in relation to those who violate the criminal law, and the committee will concern itself with all these matters in accordance with the stabilization of the sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation. I would like to make a certain observation, ladies and gentlemen. I also do not know the exact number of people in our prisons, but in my opinion, it is approximately 80,000 people at the present moment.

Frantisek Sojka, CSSR radio: The increase in crime which you spoke of is probably partly due to the state of the legal awareness of the Polish citizen. Can you assess, in your opinion, what the state of legal awareness is actually like and what concrete steps the committee which you are in charge of is preparing concerning this, the committee which you are precisely the chairman of in this area?

L. Czubinski: The committee, like other bodies, is just undertaking activities in this area that are based on two levels. One level concerns activities relating to today and the future and are the activities we must undertake in order to oppose any violations of the law as they occur.

At the same time, something that is, of course, fully understandable, is the problem of establishing a positive attitude toward the law. This is not something that can be settled in a year or in 2 years, and not mainly by means of force. Besides, as I said before, there is no tendency like this in Poland. This is why we see the need for a two-tier level of activity. I would say that the second, strategic level would include issues relating to, above all, the needs of the bodies that are engaged in social education, schools, family work places, and cultural and educational institutions to increase the kind of activities that inform and educate people. Among other things, we anticipate preparing a report in conjunction with other bodies on the reasons why the law is broken. These kinds of activities on what I would call the strategic level are supported by us and will be treated by us on an equal footing in our activities with the other measures we employ.

Frantisek Sojka: Forgive me, the first part of my question concerned your appraisal of the current state of legal awareness.

L. Czubinski: Comrade, we have no intention of hiding anything. The state of legal awareness is not the best because, after all, one of the indications of this state is precisely the issue of criminality, although there are, of course, certain revaluations which need to be made on this.

Frantisek Sojka: General, could you tell us to what degree your ministry and your commission is examining the possibility of the likelihood of an amnesty being introduced on the occasion of the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the creation of the PPR?

L. Czubinski: We are not concerned with this matter in the committee.

Gabor Miklos, NEPSZABADSAG: I have two questions, Comrade General. You have mentioned the danger of parasitism. I believe the law on people who avoid work has been in force for 1 and 1/2 years. What experiences emerge from this? The second question: We have read in the Polish press about conflicts between youth groups in Nowa Huta. Is the situation among young people so dangerous, Comrade General?

L. Czubinski: I am sorry, but could you phrase the second question more precisely?

Gabor Miklos: I mean conflicts between groups of youths, asocial ones.

J. Urban: It so happens that I do not have any precise data right now, but as far as I remember, talks have been held with 40,000-50,000 people as a result of this law. The huge majority of the young people started working following the talks. However, unfortunately, I do not have the exact figures; my assistant is still searching for them. Some of the young people were punished in accordance with the law, mainly receiving fines for failing to register themselves. There remains a relatively small group of people -- 1,400 if I remember correctly -- who demand some kind of special treatment. They have had the following special treatment: Voivodships people's councils in most voivodships have decided that persons who permanently avoid work may be employed in essential community work. Thus, about 1,400 people have been given employment involving urgent city tasks. We believe that generally speaking the law on combatting parasitism has served its purpose. Its main task was to induce people avoiding work and maintaining themselves from socially disapproved sources to undertake normal paid employment, the type and place of which they are free to select. When we adopted the law, the Western press announced that we were introducing a general compulsion to work and the possibility of sending inconvenient people to compulsory work. You can see that this is not true, ladies and gentlemen.

However, the government believes that the legal measures applicable to persons who do not wish to work and therefore do not wish to lead an honest life should be applied much more firmly.

Gabor Miklos: There was still another part to my question....

J. Urban: I was in Nowa Huta recently. Such colorful and sensational things have been echoed and are still being echoed in our press. Young people belonging to the punk rockers and some other group called poppers are said to total over 100,000. These young people have or have had fights which are quite violent for young people. However, in any case, there were no dramatic scenes. Such phenomena do not only occur in Nowa Huta, but somehow the situation is particularly tense there, and is a local one. The question of prevention is primarily the business of schools and parents; they are the ones who can influence young people subject to asocial passions. Of course, this problem has not been dealt with at any government level. It is of no wide significance in Poland.

Jiri Vasko, CTK: How do you assess the current activity of the political underground in Poland, General?

L. Czubinski: I have already said that I cannot speak on this subject because it is outside my scope.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Our colleague from Czechoslovakia has asked about society's legal consciousness. I would like to ask how you assess the legal consciousness of the authorities. I am asking because yesterday, at a conference on the subject of self-management bodies, Deputy Barecki called on ministers to observe the law on self-management bodies. I am interested in whether or not you have any comment to make.

L. Czubinski: I think the answer to this question is very obvious. The obviousness of it emerges from several factors. First, our Constitution clearly says that one of the basic duties of everybody in authority and every citizen is to observe the law. Second, speaking about our authorities' general legal consciousness or about a general observance of the law is an extreme simplification, because it seems that in many cases of legal violation, it is necessary to ask if the law has been broken by a body of authority or by a concrete person.

The authorities are people, no one needs to be convinced of this. In many situations, breaking the law is an error, and sometimes even bad will, but on the part of a concrete person, not on the part of the authorities. What is more, the problem is often presented for various reasons in such a way that it looks as if the problem is a problem of the authorities or of socialism. The problem does not look like that. Legal violations by state functionaries are firmly combatted by the party and government. I can say more; such an enormous effort for a proper approach by the authorities toward citizens today has not always been easily discernible in the past. Today, these matters possess great importance.

The authorities desire that the law be heeded and the Constitution observed, but unfortunately there are and will be departues from this. However, this is mainly the problem of individuals. There is one remark I would like to make on this subject while we are gathered here. When publicizing criticism in the press and in other media, it would be a good thing if the stance of a given worker's supervisors toward that worker's breaking the law were also given, and if in addition to giving the circumstances of the deed, this worker's supervisors were also asked what is being done to remedy the situation. Misdemeanors that are publicized are often in the process of being remedied or have already been remedied.

The failure to accurately present information about a misdemeanor sometimes seriously aggravates the situation and discredits the supervisors despite all that they are doing. Therefore, the point is to present an objective picture of the attitude of supervisors toward evil, and to differentiate between the supervisors and the individual worker.

J. Urban: I wish to add to the above reply, if I may. Deputy Barecki, whose speech Mr Bobinski refers to, spoke about a completely different area of law than the area General Czubinski is involved in. He spoke about the legal consciousness of the industrial administration and about the extent of knowledge on the law on enterprises, self-management bodies, price fixing, bankruptcy, and all other highly complicated financial laws such as those which regulate the country's economic life. This is an area about which Mr Bobinski is probably the only person in this hall who has a clear idea. Thus, legal consciousness, which I hope is quite satisfactory, and legal firmness, possessed by those who apply the criminal law, are completely separate. These matters are relatively simple, and yet they are grasped completely differently in enterprises where a huge number of new laws and regulations for carrying out these laws are in force. The extent of knowledge of these laws is not only the subject of criticism by the Sejm body which Deputy Barecki represents and whose meeting he happened to chair this time. Government bodies are also dissatisfied with the level of legal-economic knowledge. The examinations on economic reform which are being held within the administration are a sign of this dissatisfaction.

Robert Strybel, the Polish American Press: A question for the general, If I may. You said that the security authorities, in other words the militia, have a shortage of personnel. Could you tell us whether this is because of material shortages or because of other reasons?

L. Czubinski: In many cases, young people prefer to work outside the state sector because of the good earnings. The militia is manned on an average level. You know how the situation looks. In addition, there is a problem with apartments, there are serious difficulties with finding accommodations for these young people in the right places. This is not a general phenomenon, because in some voivodships all posts are filled, but in large conurbations such as Warsaw there is an acute shortage of employees. Hence, it is impossible for all posts to be filled everywhere, though I am convinced that when the general accommodation situation improves, as well as the problem of militia premises, since many premises are furnished very sparsely, the situation will change for the better.

J. Urban: The work is hard, and in addition, practically all areas of life in Poland are suffering from a personnel shortage. I have mentioned the state administration, where there are 21,000 vacancies.

Marian Kafarski, AFP: Minister, it was recently said on TV that talks by the state-Church commission have been broken off as far as the Church's legal status is concerned, and that no new date for talks by this commission has been set. Could you tell us why these talks have been broken off? That is my first question; the second question involves the Garwoling issue. As you know, a compromise has been reached there: Crosses have been removed from the classrooms, but retained in the recreation room and dormitory. Does that mean that the example will be repeated in other schools, despite the government's stance, which you represent, that crosses will disappear from public places in a peaceful way? Thank you.

J. Urban: Information on any break off of the talks is false. Talks by experts on the subject of the Church's legal status have been completed and a new phase has commenced, namely, talks between approved plenipotentiaries representing both sides, in other words, between the Office of Religious Affairs and the Episcopate Secretariat.

Talks on this subject will now continue at this new level. On our part, we possess the desire to prepare principles to regulate the Church's legal status. To answer your second question, I have already spoken on this subject at two or more conferences, and I have nothing new to add.

Christopher Bobinski: News is reaching us that Andrezej Slowik and Jerzy Kropielnicki have once again been on a hunger strike since 22 March. Are they allowed visits by doctors or by mediators to ease the situation?

J. Urban: I do not know the facts; thus I do not know the course any eventual incident might have taken.

M. Kafarski: Minister, there was an article in TRYBUNA LUDU yesterday about student self-management bodies. The article says that student self-management bodies have not emerged in many educational institutions, and one can even say that those that did emerge have subsequently been dissolved because former Independent Students Union [NSZ] members joined them. Could you tell us how many of these bodies have been dissolved and in how many universities, and what the administration wishes to do in the future in order to prevent former NZS members from joining, as TRYBUNA LUDU put it? That was one question, but I have another....

J. Urban: Excuse me, first of all, maybe I will answer the first question, and then you may ask the second one, because your question is very complicated and contains a series of expressions which I must explain in my answer.

The last part of the question ran: "What does the administration wish to do in the future in order to prevent former NSZ members from joining," and so on. Could you please refrain from phrasing questions in a way which forces the question's recipient to approve of the statements made by the person asking the question? The NZS has not existed for a long time, and there are no NZS representatives in educational institutions. Second, please do not confuse the views presented in the TRYBUNA LUDU article, which I happen to share, with the practical steps you have mentioned in your question. No academic self-management body has been dissolved. It can only be dissolved by decision of the appropriate minister in accordance with the special legal regulations in force during the emergence from the crisis. However, to date, the minister has not made one single use of this power because there has been no need to do so, and I hope there will be none.

In my opinion, the TRYBUNA LUDU article may indeed have created the impression that the general situation in institutions of higher education is presented there. However, the picture painted by TRUBUNA LUDU only applies to the situation in a small number of institutions of higher education. In the majority of institutions, self-management bodies are performing their statutory functions and are not being exploited for hostile political activity. A student self-management body is not an organization like the Federation of Polish Students. It is not an organization which one joins. Student self-management bodies are formed by all students. They function on the basis of rules which must agree with the institution's statute. If they do not agree, the administration of the institution intervenes to make them agree. There have been cases where administrations have in fact asked student self-management bodies to adapt their regulations to conform to the institution's statute. As far as the problem of electing the personnel of self-management bodies is concerned, one can apply to this matter what I have already said on the subject of self-management bodies in institutions of higher education.

The author of the TRYBUNA LUDU article expressed a political opinion which I share; namely, that the good functioning of institutions of higher education and the good functioning of student self-management bodies require that no political activists desiring hostile political activity against our system act beneath their cloaks, because that is not the task of a self-management body. Self-management bodies are not political organizations at all. Attempts are made to make them such through persuasion, and if necessary, through political battle, including electoral battle within the body itself. Excuse me, I said that the minister may dissolve a self-management body, but in fact he can only suspend it. I made a mistake.

Christopher Bobinski: Has anything new happened in the legal dispute between the minister of education and the Warsaw University Senate? My second question is, could you tell us if inquiries are really made at intermediate level schools by secret commissions? I mean concerning inquiries into the teachers' ideologies?

J. Urban: Nothing new has occurred. A clarification is simply being carried out between the relevant ministerial departments and the university authorities of specialist-legislative subjects. In answer to the second question, I can say with all conviction, that these are lies and nothing but lies. They are the kind of lies that are made up with the clear intention of embittering and provoking the masses. However, you wanted to ask yet another question and I apologize for not giving you the chance to do so. I see you no longer want to.

Then I would like to add a few more thoughts in reply to the question on self-governing bodies at high schools. I find the scrupulous way that Western correspondents from certain countries keep speaking up for our academic self-governing bodies -- the way they worry about the extent to which these bodies will be independent, extraordinary due to the fact that in very many Western countries, academic self-governing bodies either do not exist, or their size and powers are far more modest than those in Poland today. For example, in Switzerland, all academic staffs are simply state officials, schools have neither autonomy nor their own jurisdiction or collective bodies, and college posts are not obtained through elections, but candidates must be nominated by state authorities. The government appoints rectors directly and the same is true of administrative directors. Local authorities appoint administration members and have the right to dismiss them. The decisions that are made of a political nature because the authorities who make the choice are represented by the parties who run the country at the given time, and the decisions that have been made by the college authorities can always be changed or suspended by the Central Education Office or the ministry as a higher level body.

In the United States, the situation is very varied, but the rule is that universities are run by corporations that appoint presidents who are in charge of the executive power and are answerable to the corporations, as are deans, administrative directors, and so on. For example, at the state-run University of California such a corporation is made up of 24 members, 16 of whom are appointed by the state governor, while the remainder are officials or state activists -- all people who have come in from outside the college. In the United States, only professors are permanently employed at colleges -- employment that is guaranteed to be permanent. In Great Britain, according to our information, colleges are run by administrations of complex proportions consisting of people from outside the college who represent the state authorities, industry, trade, and so on.

Also, we find various questions concerning independence in another sphere, namely self-government at plants, even more amusing.

I have been reading very many criticisms in the Western press of the fact that our workers' self-government is not quite what it should have been, that it has artificial powers, or diminished ones, that it is a fabricated creation that the authorities are smothering or they are not allowing to develop. They also write that there is simply no self-government in Poland and that there will be none. As far as facts are concerned, these facts are simply untrue. As Deputy Barecki reported yesterday, workers' self-government bodies are functioning in 90 percent of our work plants; their bodies are composed of over 100,000 people. This is already quite a number. They have substantial powers, although they are still not being fully exploited, but the self-governing bodies are developing vigorously.

I am saying this in order to tell you, in the light of our conversation on self-governing bodies in the academic sphere, that the criticisms and the allusions being made to the Polish authorities who allegedly restrict self-government, are expressed by correspondents from countries where there is no question of any kind of self-government at all in the work sphere. All forms of democracy end at the door of the place where a person spends the majority of his day -- his place of work. The worker has no influence on the relations in his work place, its development, or its economy. He has no say in it. The power in work plants is in the hands of the people who have the money, and it is they who manipulate the managing cadres. Power over the workers rests in the hands of people who have the necessary amount of money, and this is an exceptionally unusual situation for us Poles, one which would be intolerable to a Polish worker.

Thank you very much. Do you have another question?

Christopher Bobinski: I wonder if you could tell us when we can expect a new indictment in the Przemyk case?

J. Urban: At the end of this month, I believe.

Are there any questions? I cannot see any and therefore I thank our guests. I would now still like to read a communique if I may. Tomorrow at midday, a press conference will take place in this same hall on the book which is shortly to appear on the Polish market, namely, "The U.S. Policy on Poland From 1980-83." I would like to cordially invite you all to this conference.

BARCIKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON SOCIAL DIVISIONS

LD200430 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Apr 84

[From the press review: announcer-read interview of Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo]

[Text] Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo of the PZPR, has given an interview to POLITYKA about the problems of political consolidation in Poland. You are now listening to our press review [questions and answers are read out alternately by two announcers]

[Question] What are the difficulties and obstacles that can be observed in realizing the policy of agreement?

[Answer] Divisions with Polish society have increased over the past 2 years. Society has become distinctly more polarized. It would be utopian to believe that we can just leap across this fact as if we were tightrope dancers. After all, it is a fact that spectacular measures are not the way to bring about substantial changes. Perseverance and time are needed before the divisions in society can be brought to an end.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that the authorities cannot make many inspiring and attractive offers to society today. At the end of the 1940's, on the contrary, the party was able to propose that society undergo a fundamental change. At present, the greater the divisions within society and the more the justification of authority is put in doubt, the less can be offered. It is very painful for me, for example, that a part of the people regards our activities as antinational. At the same time, people are not trying to do enough to improve their own lives. Quite often an attitude of wait and see predominates, as though people were waiting for "them," namely the authorities, to take a step.

[Question] You said after August 1980 that the authorities should be aware of the limits to their own power. How do you see this issue now? Are the authorities clear about the limits of their power in Poland?

[Answer] Now that is the Z100,000 question. We have allowed the opposition to force its own viewpoint on us. The opposition is attempting to turn society against the authorities. It is time to get rid of this confrontation. Society has the right to criticize abuses and delays; however, this attitude assumes the community of interests and actions. Society expects that its demands be anticipated and, parallel to that, it is willing to cooperate with the authorities if the latter start carrying out jointly suggested proposals.

[Question] What kind of social and political base does the current leadership have? Whom can it rely on? Whom can it trust?

[Answer] Speaking about the existing leadership, that leadership team is by nature a coalition. At present our party has some 2.2 million members and, taking into account the members' families, we should calculate in terms of a figure at least twice as big. The ZSL has around 600,000 members. In addition, there is the SD as well as PAX and the other Catholic groups. Let us add to this those nonparty members who take part in the work of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, PRON.

[Question] Taking everything into account, what could bring about a reconciliation among the Poles who are so divided? Naturally, the future will do so, but what kind of a future? PRON and the new trade unions are supported only by a minority, even though here we are dealing with two of the supporting pillars of the political model envisaged. In any case, has a political model for Poland been found at all?

[Answer] You have said that PRON and the trade unions are supported only by a minority. I see this in a different way. In Katowice Voivodship, for instance, 50 percent of the working people are trade union members. Today they may be in a minority but what about tomorrow? The minority will be transformed into the majority; it is only a question of time. I would like to stress once again that there are no miracle cures for Poland. We can debate a great many topics, but this is worthwhile only if we bear in mind two important matters -- namely, time and honest work.

JARUZELSKI, MESSNER ADDRESS ENTERPRISE MANAGERS

AU191320 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Apr 84 pp 1-2

[Marzenna Wieczorek, Tomasz Szymanski report: "All-Poland Conference of Enterprise Managers"]

[Excerpts] The coming year will not be easy for our economy, but enterprises can do much to increase production, eliminate the shortages of goods, improve the balance of payments, and restore the correct ratio between wages and work output.

Will enterprises be able to cope with internal difficulties such as manpower shortages and so on? Will the quality of production improve? Will the waste of the materials in short supply disappear? How are the modifications to the mechanisms of the economic reform appreciated? How do enterprise managers see their role against the background of all those issues? The 16 April Warsaw conference of enterprise managers was devoted primarily to those issues.

The conference was attended by managers of some 50 enterprises in all basic branches of industry as well as by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and premier; Zbigniew Messner and Zbigniew Szalajda, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; Stanislaw Gebala, head of the Central Committee Economic Department; Minister Wladyslaw Baka, government plenipotentiary for the economic reform; Franciszek Kubiczek, first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission; ministers of metallurgy and engineering industry, chemical and light industry, labor, wages and social affairs, raw material management, finance, and foreign trade and the chairman of the Polish National Bank.

Speaking during the conference, W. Jaruzelski stressed the role of production enterprises managers in the system of economic management, especially in connection with the new principles of the socialist economy's performance. Referring to the conditions that guarantee the effectiveness of the economic mechanisms -- these conditions were stressed during the discussion -- W. Jaruzelski raised the problems of materials and manpower and listed as an example the solutions that some socialist countries are successfully applying in this connection.

Objective factors that hinder economic development, he said, go hand in hand with many subjective factors.

Enterprise managers, he stressed, must make militant efforts to tap all the available unused production fat as well as to strengthen work discipline, raise its quality, and promote conservation of materials. Another task is to stimulate technological progress.

Thanking the managers for their efforts, W. Jaruzelski stressed that their conference should help propagate the best possible solutions that can be used by all enterprises in the country.

The conference, which was held in the building of the Council of Ministers, was summed up by Vice Premier Zbigniew Messner.

The conference, he stressed, has enabled us to study the views of managers and to reconcile some of these views. Many specific proposals, which will be examined by the Government Presidium, were formulated.

The basic issue in enterprises at present, he continued, is to be sufficiently aware that it is necessary to reconcile the interests of enterprises and communities with national interests. There have been many irregularities and much selfishness of various communities in that regard in the past years. We must change that, but to do it we must primarily ensure that the tasks recorded in the central annual plan accord with the plans of individual enterprises. That is because a socialist enterprise cannot effectively operate if its plan deviates, sometimes very much so, from the national plan. In that connection, it is necessary to propagate the conviction among the work forces that parochial aspirations produce no advantage, because in the final reckoning the negative results of such aspirations turn against the work forces.

The issue of wages and prices is now of fundamental importance for the economy. The 17 percent increase in wages stipulated by the plan is especially causing much misunderstanding in enterprises, many of which take the view that workers' wages should automatically increase by precisely 17 percent. However, that increase is only a mean increase meant for all wages in the economy.

The recent decisions on price adjustments are also creating a great deal of misunderstanding. We had to adopt the resolution on banning any increases in contracted prices, because it was necessary for us to get hold of the price chaos that began to penetrate our economy at the beginning of this year. In that context, Z. Messner stressed that contracted prices are a good thing as an economic mechanism, but only if there is a balance between the flow of goods and purchasing power. Otherwise, contracted prices are absolutely ineffective in lowering production costs and in improving the efficiency of economic management. It is actually possible for them to boost production costs and to lower the efficiency of economic management.

Restoring economic balance as soon as possible is our most important task at present, Z. Messner said. The absence of such balance is responsible for the fact that many mechanisms of the economic reform are unable to function. In addition, the motivational functions of wages become ineffective and such phenomena as profiteering and speculation as well as other forms of social pathology flourish. Bearing that in mind, we should realize that it is not only by adjusting prices, but also by exploiting all the elements, including wages, of the process by which goods and services are produced for consumers that we have to achieve economic balance.

SELF-MANAGEMENT BODIES' DIFFICULTIES EXAMINED

AU201200 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 Apr 84 p 7

[Pawel Ruszkowski article: "Hard Going"]

[Excerpts] The development of self-management bodies pleases some and displeases others. This conclusion is a result of my talks with self-management organizers all over the country, of an analysis of self-management documents, of the sociological research into conflict situations, carried out on instructions of the workers councils, and of the public discussions sponsored by the Polish Economic Society and the Polish Sociological Societies, which are friendly to self-management organizations.

It is an indisputable fact that self-management bodies do exist and take an earnest view of their powers and duties. The forecasts that workers would boycott those bodies as a form of activity imposed on them by the power apparatus and that this apparatus would destroy these bodies have not materialized.

After a year of those bodies' performance, their situation has become differentiated in line with the following determining factors:

-- Self-management bodies in large production enterprises are subject to more conflicts than in small enterprises.

-- The problems of the bodies in the enterprises that produce capital goods are different from those that produce consumer goods.

-- The social climate in which the self-management bodies that were set up before the introduction of martial law in 1981 and whose composition has not been changed or has only been slightly changed have to work is much better than that in which the bodies set up later have to work.

-- In those enterprises in which self-management bodies exert a genuine influence on the decisions of crucial significance for the work forces, the social attractiveness of these bodies continues to increase.

There are various barriers to self-management. The economic administrations in enterprises continue to defensively respond to the fact that self-management bodies exercize their legal powers. This is especially so in the case of the workers councils, which have developed very active plant and shop councils. While the relations between managers and plant councils are marked by good standards of coexistence, the b havior of the intermediate technical supervisors toward these councils still leaves much to be desired. The idea of self-management is still regarded by some segments of enterprises administration as some kind of bugbear. In the course of acute conflicts, very often the following arguments are advanced: "Until the issue in question is recorded in the Constitution you will have s... [g.... -- gowno] to decide." The so-called collectives -- that is, informal structures that embrace representatives "of all social forces" are the real decision-makers. Efforts are made with admiraule stubborness to commit representatives of self-management bodies to the work of those collectives, despite the fact that such methods violate the principle of collegiate activity of self-management bodies.

The directives on agreements between trade unions and self-management bodies are interpreted in the same spirit and along these lines of reasoning: We sign a contract on cooperation and set up a commission "for affairs" composed of three trade unionists and three self-management representatives. The commission formulates its position on various matters and makes a decision "on behalf" of trade unions and self-management bodies.

Such a method amounts to just another form of "collectivizing" both self-management bodies and trade unions.

Another barrier to self-management is the difficulties in communication. The basic problem of self-management bodies in large enterprises is the permanent information contacts with he work forces. The electorate must know what self-management bodies do and what positons they take on specific issues. Those bodies should have adequate opportunities for publishing their activities and for discussing their decisions with the work forces. However, efforts to publish their own bulletins are curbed at the central and local levels because of technical difficulties, the shortage of paper, and internal censorship. Some plant councils have decided to publish their reports in the plant press, but this greatly delays the circulation of information and curtails its range. Other councils decided to circulate their reports by word of mouth or by leaflets typed in limited numbers. However, leaflets require much work to produce and large groups of aktivs to circulate them.

The interpretation of powers is another hindrance, because the state of the organizers' economic and legal knowledge is still frighteningly low and opportunities for further training in this regard continue to be negligible. Self-management bodies continue to suffer from a chronic shortage of training aids and simple explanations of basic legal regulations. The practice of calling in experts from outside the enterprises continues to elicit violent opposition from enterprise administrations. In addition, the group of competent advisors is still very small and is dispersed all over the country.

There are difficulties in swapping practical knowledge. Cooperation between self-management bodies and exchanges of practical knowledge are almost nonexistent. It is true that cases of bilateral contacts do occur, but there are no regular discussion meetings at the level of the branches of industry, ministries, or voivodships.

Scientific research into self-management bodies and the theory of self-management is still in its embryonic stage. Let us hope that historians will not have to replace sociologists. The press continues to write a great deal about self-management bodies, but it is mostly reportage [reportaz]. Compact tuitional articles are lacking, and there is no purely self-management periodical to provide information and inspiration and to authoritatively interpret legal regulations.

The attitude of the founding bodies is also a barrier in that the relations between them and self-management bodies are casual in nature when, for example, a minister visiting an enterprise bumps into the chairman of the plant council by accident, or indirect in nature when a vice minister asks the manager of the enterprise during a break in a ministerial conference: "Well, how are you coping with your self-management body?" In short, there exists only one body for branch ministries -- the manager.

The true effects of the existence and performance of self-management bodies greatly exceed the narrow bounds of economics. Self-management mechanisms help to stimulate the militancy of the social forces in enterprises and open up new areas of activity by members of the enterprise community. Of course such a situation is conducive to conflicts, which is often regarded as an example of "politically hostile" work of a destructive nature. However, the truth is that disclosures of contradictions and clashes clashes of opposing concepts merely result in invigorating the social structures, which are forced to effectively defend their interests. The only involvement of politics in that is the way in which those contradictions are resolved -- either by smothering and papering them over or by negotiating compromise proposals.

Self-management bodies are an element of the democratization of the social life in enterprises in that they ensure that the majority of the work forces can influence the decisions on their material interests and in that they help disseminate the principles of democracy in practice. The fact that self-management bodies make decisions that are important for the work forces creates in time a great interest in such decision-making and inspires faith that it can be influenced by workers. At the same time, the fact that self-management bodies observe the elementary principles of democracy -- collegiality and openness of activity -- consolidates the generally accepted standards of people to people relations, which the administration and sociopolitical organizations in enterprises must respect. That this is so is attested to by a large measure of workers interest in the elections of labor inspectors in those enterprises that possess strong self-management bodies. Morever, these bodies help foster workers feelings for community life in that they propagate respect for common property, promote social values such as the economic reform, for example, spread economic-legal knowledge, and raise the standards of community life.

FIRST QUARTER ECONOMIC STATISTICS RELEASED

LD180304 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 17 Apr 84

[Text] Journalists were informed about the economic situation in the first quarter of this year at the Government Press Bureau. Here is Andrzej Szczawinski's commentary.

[Szczawinski] The first 3 months of 1984 have brought a moderate increase in industrial production. Compared with the first quarter of 1983, it is 3.7 percent higher. This is, however, a slower pace than the 4.5 percent assumed in the central annual plan. The extraction industry achieved a 6 percent increase, but the processing industry had a 3.6 percent increase. This slower pace in the processing industry is one of the threats to the implementation of the annual plan.

Supply difficulties continue, particularly in regard to raw and imported materials. In the first quarter, we exported almost 30 percent more to the capitalist countries than a year ago, but we imported only about 7 percent more. This does indeed give a foreign currency surplus that we need to pay our debts, but it must be remembered that dollar imports will be almost half this year what they were in 1979. One cannot speak, then, about normal supplies to the economy. The plan for exports to the second area is already near the level of 5 years ago, but there is no guarantee that it will be fulfilled. In the first quarter, for example, electrical engineering industry exports to capitalist countries were low: a mere 14 percent of the annual targets. Besides the objective difficulties, much depends on the exporting enterprises, on the quality of the goods on offer, and on trade efficiency.

The exports and imports to and from the socialist countries is growing evenly. In the first quarter, they were 8 and 7 percent higher than a year ago, but we still import more from those countries than we sell.

As for agriculture, the past 3 months brought a certain improvement in animal breeding. In relation to the last quarter of 1983, there were about 700,000 more pigs. Procurement was, however, still lower in comparison with the first quarter of 1983 by almost 15 percent, although the farmers already have several hundred thousand piglets more than in that period. The first effects of this should be seen near the end of the year.

Construction workers built more than 23,000 dwellings in the first quarter, 7 percent less than a year ago. The main reasons are the smaller number of houses in an unfinished state than in that period, the extension of the average building construction cycle and the excessive (?dispersal) of investment assets.

All in all, the results of the first 3 months show that this year will be a difficult one, but as Minister Franciszek Kubiczek said in his report at today's conference, it will be no better and no worse than the previous year. There are many dangers, to mention only the drop in the growth rate of industrial production. Management efficiency leaves a lot to be desired: For example, the central annual plan assumes a drop in the use of raw and other materials of 2.5 percent. The amount in the plans decided by enterprises yields only one-third of this drop. The plan assumes a cutback in employment of not quite 1 percent, but enterprises are planning an overall increase of 1.5 percent. This approach to plan targets will have to change in enterprises, for, after all, whether we achieve the assumed 3.5 percent increase in the national income for this year depends on what happens directly in production, at the work post. How much still remains to be made up is shown by the fact that in 1983 the level of the produced national income was still 20 percent down from 1978.

CRACKDOWN ON ILLEGAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY ANNOUNCED

LD210211 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 84

["Statement" by Major General Jerzy Cwiek, deputy commandant of the Citizens' Militia and chairman of team operating against the law violations in trade and production activity]

[Text] Letters from citizens addressed to party and state authorities; press, television and radio reports; complaints to the Supreme Chamber of Control, State Trade Inspection, Citizens' Militia, and prosecutors offices; as well as voices at various kinds of meetings, including speakers at the National PZPR Delegates Conference -- these sources indicate that the community expects from the responsible organs more intensive actions and a firmer stand toward all those who use illegal economic activity to get rich at the expense of the community.

Our control and repressive operations, about which you have been systematically informed, confirm that these complaints and demands are justified. People do not intend to tolerate the cult of money, ostentation, and disregard for the law practiced by a narrow group of artful dodgers. Naturally this does not apply to honest working craftsmen, persons conducting commercial activity, or to foreign enterprises of small-scale production, when we know that they observe rules in force and fulfill their tasks to the state.

I would say more: We are convinced that all honest craftsmen, tradesmen, and private producers will give us support in the elimination of those who disgrace their good name. On the other hand, when it comes to all kinds of nouveau riche, tax dodgers, and speculators, whether these are people acting on their own or employed in socialized economy, in accordance with the recommendation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, we are undertaking as of now, with the use of all available resources, increased control and repressive actions aimed at fully meeting the demands of society -- or, to put it more clearly, at liquidating this highly dangerous social phenomenon of getting rich at the expense of others. We will include in our operations all organs of prosecution and control that have been pledged for firm and consistent operations, but naturally in full accordance with the law.

PRINTING EQUIPMENT, ANTISTATE LEAFLETS SEIZED

LD201927 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] High-capacity printing equipment and a large quantity of leaflets and literature of an antistate nature have been found at the ferry landing in Swinoujscie in a specially constructed hidden compartment in the care of a French citizen, (Jacques Chalou). He was traveling from France via Denmark to Poland. According to the travel documents, the package contained only gifts.

In the seized package from France, besides gifts such as medicines, second-hand clothes, and second-hand medical equipment which was sent in the package, the main part of the package consisted of literature and instructions for the Solidarity underground [sentence as heard].

An example of a larger underground-type magazine is the Solidarity monthly KONTAKT published in Paris, which also in a manner appropriate for publications of this kind tells what should be done and how to operate offset printing machines and large duplicating equipment, as well as small silk-screen frames. This material also contains a text by former Ambassador Zdzislaw Rurarz, who laments that during the period of the seventies he was not able to oppose the errors and distortions in our country because he was constantly being posted abroad. Finally, the monthly contains a list of the most popular figures in France in 1983: in first place, with 32 points, is Lech Walesa; in second, with 21 points, is his wife, Danuta; and in third, with 15 points, Pope John Paul II.

In total, of these illegal publications held here, 59 titles totaling 788 copies have been seized, as well as other technical equipment necessary for producing leaflets: seven high-capacity duplicators, two radiotelephones, large quantities of carbon, printing ink, and Kodak films. The recipient of the seized parcel was the charity commission of the Polish Episcopate in Krakow on Franciszkanska Street.

By the decision of the voivodship prosecutor in Szczecin, (Jacques Chalou) has been arrested. An investigation of this case is being conducted by the Investigations Department of the Szczecin Voivodship Security Service Office for Internal Affairs under the supervision of the voivodship prosecutor.

CROSS HIGHLIGHTED IN EASTER CELEBRATIONS

NC221551 Paris AFP in English 1527 GMT 22 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw, April 22 (AFP) -- Poles laced Easter Sunday celebrations today with references to their passive resistance to the military government, but the symbols were more discreet than in previous years. Following a Polish tradition, scenes of the Easter tomb were erected in churches, and this year the symbol of the cross, which authorities are trying to ban from public buildings, was placed in the forefront.

Tens of thousands of people in Warsaw lined up for hours for a look at the tomb at the Jesuit church in the old town. There, three crosses were set up in striking resemblance to a monument in Gdansk in memory of strikers slain in 1970, and two of them bore inscriptions symbolizing the ills of society -- atheism, prisons, wars -- and the banned Solidarity union.

In the church of the Paulist brothers, the fight over the crucifixes was symbolized by a scene of a classroom with a blackboard saying, "The cross on which Christ died signifies that God opposes hatred, cruelty, meanness and intolerance."

Other churches were more direct: One showed a Polish flag crushed by a huge blood-stained rock, another had a fresco showing a forest of clenched fists over a dying Christ, and a third simply displayed the words, "The cross is our only hope."

Yet observers said the symbols were less challenging than last year, when the scenes evoked far more directly the state of siege instituted in 1981 and often compared it to the crown of thorns.

In his Easter mass at the cathedral, the Polish primate, Cardinal Josef Glemp, mentioned the country's 409 political prisoners only in passing. He was more forceful in his pastoral letter, deploring "the suffering inflicted on Poles, without their knowing why, in the prisons, the schools and the workplaces."

Some observers said the strongest note of protest this Easter came from Rome, where Pope John Paul II, for the first time since his trip to Poland last year, reaffirmed his backing of Solidarity, saying its victories must be "neither destroyed nor diminished."

WALESA URGES HUNGER STRIKERS TO END ACTION

NC201654 Paris AFP in English 1640 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw, April 20 (AFP) -- Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has urged jailed members of the banned union, on hunger strike to press demands for political prisoner status, to give up the strike since their protest has "fulfilled its purpose." In a telephone interview today from his home in the Baltic port of Gdansk, Mr. Walesa, the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, said he had just sent a letter asking prisoners to end their strikes at penitentiaries in Barczew and Branieno. In his letter, Mr. Walesa said, he assured the prisoners of his "full support" and said their protest had "gone far beyond" the prison walls. We will not cease to press for the release "of the 409 political prisoners officially held in Poland," Mr. Walesa said, but he said the efforts were having "little effect." "Your protest has already fulfilled its purpose," he wrote. "We ask you to end it, for to go on would endanger your health."

TWO ITALIAN BOATS CAPTURED FOR ILLEGAL FISHING

LD201608 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 20 Apr 84

[Text] Split, 20 Apr (TANJUG) -- Yesterday afternoon in the waters near Vis Island the border authorities apprehended two foreign fishing boats that were illegally fishing in Yugoslav territorial waters, a statement from competent sources says. A Yugoslav patrol boat, acting in accordance with international regulations, fired several warnings with signal rockets and blank ammunition at the offenders -- whose boats were not flying the flags of their country of origin -- in order to stop them. Since the crews of the fishing boats ignored the numerous warning and attempted to get out of Yugoslav territorial waters, shots were fired at one of the fishing boats. One crew member was wounded and was immediately given first aid. He was taken by helicopter to the hospital in Split and there received the necessary medical treatment; he is now out of danger.

The captured fishing boats and their crews, which did not possess any documents, have been taken to the nearest Yugoslav harbor.

It was subsequently established that both fishing boats are owned by Italian citizens and that the wounded sailor, according to his own statement, is (Cadio Casimo) from Molfetta. Charges are being brought against the crew of the captured fishing boats for violation of territorial waters in accordance with legal regulations.

SECOND SET OF 500 ZASTAVA AUTOMOBILES FOR PRC

AU201142 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 84 p 7

[Text] Kragujevac, 18 Apr (TANJUG) -- The Crvena Zastava factory of Kragujevac has concluded a second contract for the delivery of another 500 automobiles to the PRC. This second shipment of vehicles will be delivered at the end of the year. The earlier contracted 500 vehicles are ready for delivery and will be dispatched by the end of April.

BULGARIAN ENERGY MINISTER HOLDS ECONOMIC TALKS

AU201806 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 20 Apr 84

["Fruitful Contacts" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Belgrade, April 20 (BTA corr) -- Mr Todor Bozhinov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, deputy-chairman of the Council of Minsters and minister of energy and raw material resources, who is attending the 10th session of the intergovernmental CMEA Atomic Equipment Commission here, is having a number of useful contacts and talks on questions of mutual interest with Yugoslav leaders and business circle representatives in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Mr Todor Bozhinov met Mr Borislav Srebric, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, and had a talk with Mr Branislav Ikonic, the president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and with Mr Milorad Stanojevic, the chairman of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, chairing the Yugoslav side of the joint Bulgaro-Yugoslav Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Commission. Questions pertaining to the two countries' economic relations were the topic of the talks.

Mr Todor Bozhinov had a long conversation with Mr Rade Pavlovic, the chairman of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry. They reviewed the possibilities for developing cooperation in the fields of geology, the production of non-mettalliferous mineral raw materials, power generation, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy. Emphasis was put on the need for this cooperation to develop on a durable and planned basis. Special importance was attached to specialization and joint production aimed at the fuller utilization of the free capacities and the better satisfying of the two countries' needs in the output of these branches.

DISSIDENTS DETAINED, HOSTILE ACTIVITY SUSPECTED

AU211347 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 21 Apr 84

[Text] Here is a report we have received from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs:

On the basis of information from citizens that a large number of unknown persons had gathered in a private apartment, on 20 April personnel of the Belgrade city Secretariat for Internal Affairs investigated the matter and established that a large number of persons had indeed gathered in Dragomir Olujic's apartment at 40 Knez-Miletina Street in Belgrade. Considering that the group comprised several people who had earlier been convicted of crimes and misdemeanors in carrying out hostile activities and that certain materials and lists were found on them, the workers of the city Secretariat for Internal Affairs brought in and detained 28 persons for questioning and investigation, because there exists a well-founded suspicion that the gathering was held for the purpose of carrying out hostile activities.

Among those taken into custody [privedena lica] are Dragomir Olujic, Vojislav Seselj, Stojan Cerovic, Milovan Djilas, Lazar Stojanovic, Miodrag Milic, and others.

Djilas Warned, Released

NC211530 Paris AFP in English 1519 GMT 21 Apr 84

[Text] Belgrade, April 21 (AFP) -- Milovan Djilas, the Yugoslav dissident who was arrested yesterday along with 27 others, was released today.

Mr Djilas, 73, said on the telephone that charges would not be brought but the authorities had given him a "severe warning".

He said he did not know whether the other dissidents had also been released.

A statement published by the news agency TANJUG yesterday said the 28 had been detained for questioning after attending a meeting in a private flat. Various texts hostile to the government had reportedly been found in their possession.

The other dissidents arrested include film producer Lazar Stojanovic and Dragomir Olujic, a journalist at Belgrade radio at whose flat the meeting was held, according to the statement.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DISCUSSES LIFTING PRICE FREEZE

LD212031 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 21 Apr 84

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Apr (TANJUG) -- According to the information released by the Federal Secretariat for Information, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, met today with presidents of republican and provincial executive councils. Several questions connected with the decision to lift the price freeze were discussed at the meeting.

During the meeting support was expressed for the proposals to amend the law on the bases of the system and social price control, which would give the Federal Council power to lay down, in agreement with the competent republican and provincial organs, the conditions and manner in which prices should be formed in 1984 and to draw up measures to direct price control in cooperation with these organs. An agreement about the stands on the proposed decision was also reached on the nature of the power to be given to the Federal Executive Council, which has been worked out in detail. This draft decision also includes the methods by which prices would be formed and regulations on the level of fines to be imposed on organizations of associated labor and responsible officials if this decision's stipulations are violated.

The proposed amendments and addenda to the regulations in the field of credit and monetary policy, which were also approved at today's meeting, also envisage economic sanctions against those organizations of associated labor that increase prices without justification. As was proposed, organizations of associated labor may also be denied the right to have new credits granted or may have already approved credits stopped. Sanctions against those commercial banks that fail to implement these measures are also envisaged.

It was agreed that proposed economic measures will have a positive effect on the more efficient implementation of the agreed price policy and that they may change the behavior of those organizations of associated labor that choose to solve their problems easily by just increasing prices.

The presidents of the executive councils also approved the first draft of the agreement on measures to reduce the economy's material obligations. This draft was prepared on the basis of the conclusions adopted by the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces on 18 April. The agreement will be concluded between the assemblies of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces. The first measures to unburden the economy should be adopted as early as May this year.

TV SHOWS ATTENDANCE AT 11 APR PRESIDENCY MEETING

AU201411 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1730 GMT on 11 April carries a 30-second film clip on the session of the SFRY Presidency meeting under the chairmanship of Mika Spiljak on that day, hearing Spiljak's report on the official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia of Jorge Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola. The clip shows that the following attended the session: Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Vidoje Zarkovic, Fadilj Hodza, Mika Spiljak, Secretary Muhamed Berberovic, Lazar Kolisevski, Sergej Kraigher, Cvijetin Mijatovic, Radovan Vlajkovic, Petar Stambolic, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, and two unrecognized men. Four empty seats are evident on the film clip.